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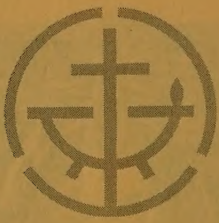

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SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
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Richard T. Ely

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by

Mandeville. 1706. 1723

M. ö bekannte Lasterredner
des Egoismus. v. Kanty
Nto II p. 284.

1724 Sägnicki Hist. of Chin. p 187
in Kuno Fischers Gesch. der Ph.
F. Bacon u. seine Nachfolger
2te Aufl. S. 686

THE FABLE OF THE BEES:

OR;

Private Vices, Public Benefits.

With, An ESSAY on

CHARITY and CHARITY-SCHOOLS;

AND,

A SEARCH into the Nature of SOCIETY;

Mandeville, Bernard, 1670-1733

The ninth EDITION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A VINDICATION of the BOOK from the Aſperſions contained in a Preſentment of the Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, and an abuſive Letter to the Lord *C.*

EDINBURGH:

Printed for W. GRAY and W. PETER.

Sold at their ſhop in the *Parliament Cloſe.*

MDCCLV.

THE PREFACE.

LAWS and government are to the political bodies of civil ſocieties, what the vital ſpirits and life itſelf are to the natural bodies of animated creatures; and as thoſe that ſtudy the anatomy of dead carcaſes may ſee, that the chief organs and niceſt ſprings, more immediately required to continue the motion of our machine, are not hard bones, ſtrong muſcles and nerves, nor the ſmooth white ſkin that ſo beautifully covers them, but ſmall trifling films and little pipes, that are either overlooked, or elſe ſeem inconſiderable to vulgar eyes; ſo they that examine into the nature of man, abſtract from art and education, may obſerve, that what renders him a ſociable animal, conſiſts not in his deſire of company, good nature, pity, affability, and other graces of a fair outſide, but that his vileſt and moſt hateful qualities are the moſt neceſſary accompliſhments to fit him for the largeſt, and, according to the world, the happieſt and moſt flouriſhing ſocieties.

The following Fable, in which, what I have ſaid, is ſet forth at large, was printed about fifteen years ago * in a ſix penny pamphlet, called, THE GRUMBLING HIVE; OR KNAVES TURN'D HONEST; and being ſoon after pyrated, cried about the ſtreets in a halfpenny ſheet. Since the firſt publiſhing of it, I have met with ſeveral that, either wilfully or ignorantly miſtaking the deſign, would have it, that

* This was wrote in 1714.

Withdrawn from Collection

the ſcope of it was a ſatyr upon virtue and morality, and the whole wrote for the encouragement of vice. This made me reſolve, whenever it ſhould be reprinted, ſome way or other to inform the reader of the real intent this little poem was wrote with. I do not dignify theſe few looſe lines with the name of a poem, that I would have the reader expect any poetry in them, but barely becauſe they are rhime, and I am in reality puzled what name to give them; for they are neither heroic nor paſtoral, ſatyr, burleſque nor heroi-comic; to be a tale they want probability, and the whole is rather too long for a fable. All I can ſay of them is, that they are a ſtory told in dogrel, which, without the leaſt deſign of being witty, I have endeavoured to do in as eaſy and familiar a manner as I was able: the reader ſhall be welcome to call them what he pleaſes. It was ſaid of Montagne, that he was pretty well verſed in the defects of mankind, but unacquainted with the excellencies of human nature: if I fare no worſe, I ſhall think myſelf well uſed.

What country ſoever in the univerſe is to be underſtood by the Bee-hive repreſented here, it is evident from what is ſaid of the laws and conſtitution of it, the glory, wealth, power and induſtry of its inhabitants, that it muſt be a large, rich and warlike nation, that is happily governed by a limited monarchy. The ſatyr therefore to be met with in the following lines, upon the ſeveral profeſſions and callings, and almoſt every degree and ſtation of people, was not made to injure and point to particular perſons, but only to ſhew the vileneſs of the ingredients that altogether compoſe the wholeſome mixture of a well-ordered ſociety; in order to extol the wonderful power of political wiſdom, by the help of which ſo beautiful a machine is raiſed from the moſt contemptible branches. For the main deſign of the fable (as it is briefly explained in the moral) is to ſhew the impoſſibility of enjoying all the

the most elegant comforts of life, that are to be met with in an industrious, wealthy and powerful nation, and at the same time be blessed with all the virtue and innocence that can be wished for in a golden age; from thence to expose the unreasonableness and folly of those, that desirous of being an opulent and flourishing people, and wonderfully greedy after all the benefits they can receive as such, are yet always murmuring at and exclaiming against those vices and inconveniencies, that, from the beginning of the world to this present day, have been inseparable from all kingdoms and states that ever were famed for strength, riches and politeness, at the same time.

To do this, I first slightly touch upon some of the faults and corruptions the several professions and callings are generally charged with. After that, I shew that those very vices of every particular person, by skilful management, were made subservient to the grandeur and worldly happiness of the whole. Lastly, by setting forth what of necessity must be the consequence of general honesty and virtue, and national temperance, innocence and content, I demonstrate, that if mankind could be cured of the failings they are naturally guilty of, they would cease to be capable of being raised into such vast, potent and polite societies, as they have been under the several great common-wealths and monarchies that have flourished since the creation.

If you ask me, why I have done all this, *cui bono?* and what good these notions will produce? truly, besides the reader's diversion, I believe none at all; but, if I was asked, what naturally ought to be expected from them? I would answer, That, in the first place, the people who continually find fault with others, by reading them, would be taught to look at home, and examining their own consciences, be made ashamed of always railing at what they are more or less guilty of themselves; and that, in the

the next, those who are so fond of the ease and comforts, and reap all the benefits that are the consequence of a great and flourishing nation, would learn more patiently to submit to those inconveniencies, which no government on earth can remedy, when they should see the impossibility of enjoying any great share of the first, without partaking likewise of the latter.

This, I say, ought naturally to be expected from the publishing of these notions, if people were to be made better by any thing that could be said to them; but mankind having for so many ages remained still the same, notwithstanding the many instructive and elaborate writings, by which their amendment has been endeavoured, I am not so vain as to hope for better success from so inconsiderable a trifle.

Having allowed the small advantage this little whim is likely to produce, I think myself obliged to shew, that it cannot be prejudicial to any; for what is published, if it does no good, ought at least to do no harm: in order to this, I have made some explanatory notes, to which the reader will find himself referred in those passages that seem to be most liable to exceptions.

The censorious, that never saw the GRUMBLING HIVE, will tell me, that whatever I may talk of the fable, it not taking up a tenth part of the book, was only contrived to introduce the REMARKS; that, instead of clearing up the doubtful or obscure places, I have only pitched upon such as I had a-mind to expatiate upon; and that, far from striving to extenuate the errors committed before, I have made bad worse, and shewn myself a more barefaced champion for vice in the rambling digressions, than I had done in the fable itself.

I shall spend no time in answering these accusations; where men are prejudiced, the best apologies are lost; and I know that those who think it criminal

mind to suppose a necessity of vice in any case whatever, will never be reconciled to any part of the performance; but if this be thoroughly examined, all the offence it can give, must result from the wrong inferences that may perhaps be drawn from it, and which I desire nobody to make. When I assert that vices are inseparable from great and potent societies, and that it is impossible their wealth and grandeur should subsist without, I do not say, that the particular members of them, who are guilty of any, should not be continually reprov'd, or not be punished for them when they grow into crimes.

There are, I believe, few people in London, of those that are at any time forced to go a-foot; but what could wish the streets of it much cleaner than generally they are, whilst they regard nothing but their own clothes and private conveniency: but when once they come to consider, that what offends them is the result of the plenty, great traffic and opulency of that mighty city, if they have any concern in its welfare, they will hardly ever wish to see the streets of it less dirty. For if we mind the materials of all sorts that must supply such an infinite number of trades and handicrafts, as are always going forward; the vast quantity of victuals, drink and fewel, that are daily consumed in it; the waste and superfluities that must be produced from them; the multitudes of horses, and other cattle, that are always dawbing the streets; the carts, coaches, and more heavy carriages, that are perpetually wearing and breaking the pavement of them, and, above all, the numberless swarms of people that are continually harrassing and trampling through every part of them. If, I say, we mind all these, we shall find, that every moment must produce new filth; and considering how far distant the great streets are from the river side, what cost and care soever be bestowed to remove the nastiness almost

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as fast as 'tis made, it is impossible London should be more cleanly before it is less flourishing. Now would I ask if a good citizen, in consideration of what has been said, might not assert, that dirty streets are a necessary evil inseparable from the felicity of London, without the least hindrance to the cleaning of shoes, or sweeping of streets, and consequently without any prejudice either to the Blackguard or the Scavingers.

But if, without any regard to the interest or happiness of the city, the question was put, What place I thought most pleasant to walk in? No body can doubt but, before the stinking streets of London, I would esteem a fragrant garden, or a shady grove in the country. In the same manner, if laying aside all worldly greatness and vain-glory, I should be asked, where I thought it was most probable that men might enjoy true happiness? I would prefer a small peaceable society, in which men, neither envyed nor esteemed by neighbours, should be contented to live upon the natural product of the spot they inhabit, to a vast multitude abounding in wealth and power, that should always be conquering others by their arms abroad, and debauching themselves by foreign luxury at home.

Thus much I had said to the reader in the first edition; and have added nothing by way of preface in the second. But since that, a violent outcry has been made against the book, exactly answering the expectation I always had of the justice, the wisdom, the charity, and fair-dealing of those whose good-will I despaired of. It has been presented by the grand jury, and condemned by thousands who never saw a word of it. It has been preached against before my lord mayor; and an utter refutation of it is daily expected from a reverend divine, who has called me names in the advertisements, and threatned to answer me in two months time for above five months together. What I have to say for myself,

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the reader will see in my vindication at the end of the book, where he will likewise find the grand jury's presentment, and a letter to the right honourable Lord C, which is very rhetorical beyond argument or connexion. The author shews a fine talent for invectives, and great sagacity in discovering atheism, where others can find none. He is zealous against wicked books, points at the FABLE OF THE BEES, and is very angry with the author: he bestows four strong epithets on the enormity of his guilt, and by several elegant innuendo's to the multitude, as the danger there is in suffering such authors to live, and the vengeance of heaven upon a whole nation, very charitably recommends him to their care.

Considering the length of this epistle, and that it is not wholly levelled at me only, I thought at first to have made some extracts from it of what related to myself; but finding on a nearer enquiry, that what concerned me was so blended and interwoven with what did not, I was obliged to trouble the reader with it entire; not without hopes that, prolix as it is, the extravagancy of it will be entertaining to those who have perused the treatise it condemns with so much horror.

THE
GRUMBLING HIVE:
OR,
KNAVES TURN'D HONEST.

A Spacious hive well ſtockt with bees,
That liv'd in luxury and eaſe;
And yet as fam'd for laws and arms,
As yielding large and early ſwarms;
Was counted the great nurſery
Of ſciences and induſtry.
No bees had better government,
More fickleneſs, or leſs content:
They were not ſlaves to tyranny,
Nor rul'd by wild Democracy?
But kings, that could not wrong, becauſe
Their power was circumſcrib'd by laws.

THESE inſects liv'd like men, and all
Our actions they perform'd in ſmall:
They did whatever's done in town,
And what belongs to ſword or gown:
Tho' th' artful works, by nimble flight
Of minute limbs, 'ſcap'd human ſight;
Yet we've no engines, labourers,
Ships, caſtles, arms, artificers,
Craft, ſcience, ſhop, or inſtrument,
But they had an equivalent:
Which, ſince their language is unknown,
Muſt be call'd, as we do our own.

As grant, that among other things,
They wanted dice, yet they had kings;
And those had guards; from whence we may
Justly conclude, they had some play;
Unless a regiment be shewn
Of soldiers that make use of none.

VAST numbers throng'd the fruitful hive;
Yet those vast numbers made 'em thrive;
Millions endeavouring to supply
Each other's lust and vanity;
Whilst other millions were employ'd
To see their handy-works destroy'd;
They furnish'd half the universe;
Yet had more work than labourers.
Some with vast stocks and little pains,
Jump'd into business of great gains;
And some were damn'd to sythes and spades,
And all those hard laborious trades;
Where willing wretches daily sweat,
And wear out strength and limbs to eat:
(A). Whilst others followed mysteries,
To which few folk bind 'prentices;
That want no stock but that of brass,
And may set up without a cross;
As sharpers, parasites, pimps, players,
Pick-pockets, coiners, quacks, sooth-sayers,
And all those that in enmity,
With downright working, cunningly
Convert to their own use the labour
Of their good-natur'd heedless neighbour.
(B). These were call'd knaves but bar the name,
The grave industrious were the same:
All trades and places knew some cheat,
No calling was without deceit.

THE lawyers of whose art the basis,
Was raising feuds and spatting cases,

Oppos'd

Oppos'd all regiſters, that cheats
Might make more work with dipt eſtates;
As wer't unlawful that one's own
Without a law-ſuit ſhould be known.
They kept off hearings wilfully,
To finger the refreſhing fee;
And to defend a wicked cauſe,
Examin'd and ſurvey'd the laws,
As burglars ſhops and houſes do,
To find out where they'd beſt break through.

PHYSICIANS valu'd fame and wealth
Above the drooping patient's health,
Or their own ſkill: the greateſt part
Study'd inſtead of rules of art,
Grave penſive looks and dull behaviour,
To gain th'apothecaries favour;
The praiſe of mid-wives, prieſts, and all
That ſerv'd at birth or funeral.
To bear with th'ever-talking tribe,
And hear my lady's aunt preſcribe;
With formal ſmile, and kind how d'ye
To fawn on all the family;
And, which of all the greateſt curſe is,
T' endure the impertinence of nurſes.

AMONG the many prieſts of Jove,
Hir'd to draw bleſſings from above,
Some few were learn'd and eloquent,
But thouſands hot and ignorant:
But all paſt muſter that could hide,
Their ſloth, luſt, avarice and pride;
For which they were as fam'd as taylors
For cabbage, or for brandy ſailors:
Some meagre-look'd, and meanly clad,
Would myſtically pray for bread,
Meaning by that an ample ſtore,
Yet lit'rally receiv'd no more,

And, whilſt theſe holy drudges ſtarv'd,
The lazy ones for which they ſerv'd,
Indulg'd their eaſe, with all the graces
Of health and plenty in their faces.

(C). THE ſoldiers that were forc'd to fight,
If they ſurviv'd, got honour by't;
Tho' ſome, that ſhun'd the bloody fray,
Had limbs ſhot off, that ran away:
Some valiant gen'rals fought the foe;
Others took bribes to let them go:
Some ventur'd always where 'twas warm,
Loſt now a leg, and then an arm;
Till quite diſabled, and put by,
They liv'd on half their ſalary;
Whilſt others never came in play,
And ſtaid at home for double pay.

THEIR kings were ſerv'd, but knaviſhly
Cheated by their own miniſtry;
Many that for their welfare ſlaved,
Robbing the very crown they ſav'd:
Penſions were ſmall, and they liv'd high,
Yet boaſted of their honeſty.
Calling, whene'er they ſtrain'd their right,
The ſlipp'ry trick a perquiſite;
And when folks underſtood their cant,
They chang'd that for emolument;
Unwilling to be ſhort or plain,
In any thing concerning gain;
(D). For there was not a bee but would
Get more, I won't ſay, than he ſhould;
But then he dar'd to let them know,
(E). That paid for't; as your gamſters do,
That, tho' at fair play, ne'er will own
Before the loſers what they've won.

BUT who can all their frauds repeat?
The very ſtuff which in the ſtreet

They ſold for dirt t'enrich the ground,
Was often by the buyers found
Sophiſticated with a quarter
Of good-for-nothing ſtones and mortar;
Tho' Flail had little cauſe to mutter
Who ſold the other ſalt for butter.
JUSTICE her ſelf, fam'd for fair dealing,
By blindneſs had not loſt her feeling;
Her left hand, which the ſcale's ſhould hold,
Had often dropt them, brib'd with gold;
And, tho' ſhe ſeem'd impartial,
Where puniſhment was corporal,
Pretended to a reg'lar courſe,
In murther, and all crimes of force;
Tho' ſome, firſt pillory'd for cheating,
Were hang'd in hemp of their own beating;
Yet, it was thought, the ſword ſhe bore
Check'd but the deſp'rate and the poor;
That, urg'd by meer neceſſity,
Were ty'd up to the wretched tree
For crimes which not deſerv'd that fate,
But to ſecure the rich and great.
THUS every part was full of vice,
Yet the whole maſs a paradiſe;
Flatter'd in peace, and fear'd in wars,
They were th' eſteem of foreigners,
And laviſh of their wealth and lives,
The balance of all other hives.
Such were the bleſſings of that ſtate;
Their crimes conſpir'd to make them great;
(F.) And virtue, who from politics
Had learn'd a thouſand cunning tricks,
Was, by their happy influence,
Made friends with vice: and ever ſince,
(G.) The worſt of all the multitude
Did ſomething for the common good.

THIS

THIS was the ſtate's-craft, that maintain'd
The whole, of which each part complain'd:
This, as in muſic harmony
Made jarrings in the main agree;
(H.) Parties directly oppoſite,
Aſſiſt each other, as 'twere for ſpight;
And temp'rance with ſobriety,
Serve drunkenneſs and gluttony.
(I.) THE root of evil, avarice,
That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful vice,
Was ſlave to prodigality,
(K.) That noble ſin; (L.) whilſt luxury
Employ'd a million of the poor,
(M.) And odious pride a million more:
(N.) Envy itſelf, and vanity,
Were miniſters of induſtry;
Their darling folly, fickleneſs,
In diet, furniture, and dreſs,
That ſtrange ridic'lous vice was made
The very wheel that turn'd the trade.
Their laws and clothes were equally
Objects of mutability;
For, what was well done for a time,
In half a year becomes a crime;
Yet whilſt they alter'd thus their laws,
Still finding and correcting flaws,
They mended by inconſtancy
Faults, which no prudence could foreſee.
THUS vice nurs'd ingenuity,
Which join'd with time and induſtry,
Had carried life's conveniences,
(O.) It's real pleaſures, comforts, eaſe,
(P.) To ſuch a heighth, the very poor
Liv'd better than the rich before
And nothing could be added more.

How

How vain is mortal happineſs!
Had they but known the bounds of bliſs;
And that perfection here below
Is more than gods can well beſtow;
The grumbling brutes had been content
With miniſters and government.
But they, at every ill ſucceſs,
Like creatures loſt without redreſs,
Curs'd politicians, armies, fleets;
Whilſt every one cried, 'damn the cheats,'
And would, tho' conſcious of his own,
In others barb'rouſly bear none.

One, that had got a princely ſtore,
By cheating maſter, king and poor,
Dar'd cry aloud, 'the land muſt ſink
'For all its fraud;' and whom d'ye think
The ſermonizing raſcal chid
A glover that ſold lamb for kid.

The leaſt thing was not done amiſs,
Or croſs'd the public buſineſs;
But all the rogues cried brazenly,
'Good gods, had we but honeſty!'
Mercy ſmil'd at th' impudence,
And others call'd it want of ſenſe,
Always to rail at what they lov'd:
But jove with indignation mov'd,
At laſt in anger ſwore, 'He'd rid
'The bawling hive of fraud;' and did.
The very moment it departs,
And honeſty fills all their hearts;
There ſhews 'em, like the inſtructive tree,
Thoſe crimes which they're aſham'd to ſee;
Which now in ſilence they confeſs,
By bluſhing at their uglineſs:
Like children that would hide their faults,
And by their colour own their thoughts;

Imag'ning

Imag'ning when they're look't upon,
That others see what they have done.

But, Oh ye gods! what consternation,
How vast and sudden was the alteration!
In half an hour, the nation round,
Meat fell a penny in the pound.
The mask hypocrisy's flung down,
From the great statesman to the clown:
And some in borrow'd looks well known,
Appear'd like strangers in their own.
The bar was silent from that day;
For now the willing debtors pay,
Ev'n what's by creditors forgot;
Who quitted them that had it not.
Those, that were in the wrong, stood mute,
And dropt the patch'd vexatious suit:
On which, since nothing less can thrive,
Than lawyers in an honest hive,
All, except those that got enough,
With Inkhorns by their sides troop'd off.

Justice hang'd some, set others free;
And after goal delivery,
Her presence being no more requir'd,
With all her train and pomp retir'd.
First march'd some smiths with locks and grates,
Fetters, and doors with iron plates:
Next goalers, turnkeys and assistants:
Before the goddess, at some distance,
Her chief and faithful minister,
'Squire Catch, the law's great finisher,
Bore not th' imaginary sword,
But his own tools, and ax and cord:
Then on a cloud the hood-wink'd fair,
Justice herself was push'd by air:
About her chariot and behind,
Were serjeants, bums of every kind,

Tip-staffs,

Tip-ſtaffs, and all thoſe officers,
That ſqueeze a living out of tears.
THO' phyſic liv'd, whilſt folk were ill,
None would preſcribe but Bees of ſkill,
Which through the hive diſpers'd ſo wide,
That none of them had need to ride;
Wav'd vain diſputes, and ſtrove to free
The patients of their miſery;
Left drugs in cheating countries grown,
And us'd the product of their own;
Knowing the gods ſent no diſeaſe
To nations without remedies.
THEIR clergy rouz'd from lazineſs,
Laid not their charge on journey-bees;
But ſerv'd themſelves, exempt from vice,
The gods with pray'r and ſacrifice;
All thoſe that were unfit, or knew
Their ſervice might be ſpar'd, withdrew:
Nor was there buſineſs for ſo many,
(If th' honeſt ſtand in need of any,)
Few only with the high prieſt ſtaid,
To whom the reſt obedience paid:
Himſelf employ'd in holy cares;
Reſign'd to others ſtate affairs.
He chas'd no ſtarv'ling from his door,
Nor pinch'd the wages of the poor;
But at his houſe the hungry's fed,
The hireling finds unmeaſur'd bread,
The needy traveller board and bed.
AMONG the king's great miniſters,
And all the inferior officers
The change was great; (O!) for frugally
They now liv'd on their ſalary:
That a poor bee ſhould ten times come
To aſk his due, a trifling ſum,

And

And by some well-hir'd clerk be made
To give a crown, or ne'er be paid,
Would now be call'd a downright cheat,
Tho' formerly a perquisite.
All places manag'd first by three,
Who watch'd each other's knavery,
And often for a fellow-feeling,
Promoted one another's stealing,
Are happily supply'd by One,
By which some thousands more are gone.

(R.) No honour now could be content,
To live and owe for what was spent;
Liv'ries in brokers shops are hung,
They part with coaches for a song;
Sell stately horses by whole sets;
And country-houses, to pay debts.

Vain cost is shunn'd as much as fraud;
They have no forces kept abroad;
Laugh at th' esteem of foreigners,
And empty glory got by wars;
They fight, but for their country's sake,
When right or liberty's at stake.

Now mind the glorious hive, and see
How honesty and trade agree.
The shew is gone, it thins apace;
And looks with quite another face.
For 'twas not only that they went,
By whom vast sums were yearly spent;
But multitudes that liv'd on them,
Were daily forc'd to do the same.
In vain to other trades they'd fly;
All were o'er-stock'd accordingly.

The price of land and houses falls;
Mirac'lous palaces, whose walls,
Like those of Thebes, were rais'd by play,
Are to be let; whilst the once gay,

Well-

Well-ſeated houſhold gods would be
More pleas'd to expire in flames than ſee
The mean inſcription on the door
Smile at the lofty ones they bore.
The building trade is quite deſtroyed,
Artificers are not employ'd;
(S.) No limner for his art is fam'd,
Stone-cutters, carvers are not nam'd.

Those, that remain, grown temp'rate, ſtrive,
Not how to ſpend, but how to live,
And, when they paid their tavern ſcore,
Reſolv'd to enter it no more:
No vintner's jilt in all the hive
Could wear now cloth of gold, and thrive;
Nor Torcol ſuch vaſt ſums advance,
For Burgundy and Ortelans;
The courtier's gone, that with his miſs
Supp'd at his houſe on Chriſtmas peas;
Spending as much in two hours ſtay,
As keeps a troop of horſe a day.

The haughty Chloe, to live great,
Had made her (T.) husband rob the ſtate:
But now ſhe ſells her furniture,
Which th' Indies had been ranſack'd for;
Contracts th' expenſive bill of fare,
And wears her ſtrong ſuit a whole year:
The ſlight and fickle age is paſt,
And clothes, as well as faſhions, laſt.
Weavers, that join'd rich ſilk with plate,
And all the trades ſubordinate,
Are gone. Still peace and plenty reign,
And every thing is cheap, tho' plain:
Kind nature, free from Gard'ners force,
Allows all fruits in her own courſe;
But rarities cannot be had,
Where pains to get 'em are not paid.

As pride and luxury decreaſe,
So by degrees they leave the ſeas.
Not merchants now, but companies
Remove whole manufactories.
All arts and crafts neglected lie;
(V.) Content, the bane of induſtry,
Makes them admire their homely ſtore,
And neither ſeek nor covet more.

So few in the vaſt hive remain,
The hundreth part they can't maintain
Againſt th' inſults of num'rous foes;
Whom yet they valiantly oppoſe:
'Till ſome well-fenc'd retreat is found,
And here they die or ſtand their ground.
No hireling in their army's known;
But bravely fighting for their own,
Their courage and integrity
At laſt were crown'd with victory.
They triumph'd not without their coſt,
For many thouſand bees were loſt.
Hard'ned with toils and exerciſe,
They counted eaſe itſelf a vice;
Which ſo improv'd their temperance;
That, to avoid extravagance,
They flew into a hollow tree,
Bleſt with content and honeſty.

The MORAL.

THEN leave complaints: fools only ſtrive
(X.) To make a great an honeſt hive.
(Y.) T' enjoy the world's conveniencies,
Be ſam'd in war, yet live in eaſe,
Without great vices, is a vain
UTOPIA *ſeated in the brain.*
Fraud, luxury, and pride muſt live,
Whilſt we the benefits receive:
Hunger's a dreadful plague, no doubt,
Yet who digeſts or thrives without?
Do we not owe the growth of wine
To the dry ſhabby crooked vine?
Which, whilſt its ſhoots neglected ſtood,
Choak'd other plants, and ran to wood;
But bleſt us with its noble fruit,
As ſoon as it was ty'd and cut:
So vice is beneficial found,
When it's by juſtice lopt and bound;
Nay, where the people would be great,
As neceſſary to the ſtate,
As hunger is to make 'em eat.
Bare virtue can't make nations live
In ſplendor; they, that would revive
A golden age, muſt be as free,
For acorns, as for honeſty.

THE

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the greateſt reaſons why ſo few people underſtand themſelves, is, that moſt writers are always teaching men what they ſhould be, and hardly ever trouble their heads with telling them what they really are. As for my part, without any compliment to the courteous reader, or my ſelf, I believe man, (beſides skin, fleſh, bones, &c. that are obvious to the eye) to be a compound of various paſſions, that all of them, as they are provoked and come uppermoſt, govern him by turns, whether he will or no. To ſhew, that theſe qualifications, which we all pretend to be aſhamed of, are the great ſupport of a flouriſhing ſociety, has been the ſubject of the foregoing poem. But there being ſome paſſages in it ſeemingly paradoxical, I have in the preface promiſed ſome explanatory remarks on it; which, to render more uſeful, I have thought fit to enquire how man, no better qualified, might yet, by his own imperfections, be taught to diſtinguiſh between virtue and vice. And here I muſt deſire the reader once for all to take notice, that when I ſay men, I mean neither Jews nor Chriſtians: but meer man in the ſtate of nature, and ignorance of the true Deity.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF MORAL VIRTUE.

ALL untaught animals are only ſolicitous of pleaſing themſelves, and naturally follow the bent of their own inclinations, without conſidering the good or harm that from their being pleaſed will accrue to others. This is the reaſon that, in the wild ſtate of nature, thoſe creatures are fitteſt to live peaceably together in great numbers, that diſcover the leaſt of underſtanding, and have the feweſt appetites to gratify; and conſequently no ſpecies of animals is without the curb of government, leſs capable of agreeing long together in multitudes than that of man; yet ſuch are his qualities, whether good or bad, I ſhall not determine, that no creature beſides himſelf can ever be made ſociable: but, being an extraordinary ſelfiſh and headſtrong, as well as cunning animal, however he may be ſubdued by ſuperior ſtrength, it is impoſſible by force a-

lone to make him tractable, and receive the improvements he is capable of.

The chief thing therefore, which law-givers and other wise men, that have laboured for the establishment of society, have endeavoured, has been to make the people they were to govern believe, that it was more beneficial for every body to conquer than indulge his appetites, and much better to mind the public than what seemed his private interest. As this has always been a very difficult task, so no wit or eloquence has been left untried to compass it; and the moralists and philosophers of all ages employed their utmost skill to prove the truth of so useful an assertion. But whether mankind would have ever believed it or not, it is not likely that any body could have persuaded them to disapprove of their natural inclinations, or prefer the good of others to their own, if at the same time he had not shewed them an equivalent to be enjoyed as a reward for the violence which, by so doing, they of necessity must commit upon themselves. Those that have undertaken to civilize mankind were not ignorant of this; but being unable to give so many real rewards as would satisfy all persons for every individual action, they were forced to contrive an imaginary one, that, as a general equivalent for the trouble of self-denial, should serve on all occasions, and, without costing any thing either to themselves or others, be yet a most acceptable recompence to the receivers.

They thoroughly examined all the strength and frailties of our nature, and observing that none were either so savage as not to be charmed with praise, or so despicable as patiently to bear contempt, justly concluded, that flattery must be the most powerful argument that could be used to human

man creatures. Making use of this bewitching engine, they extolled the excellency of our nature above other animals; and, setting forth with unbounded praises the wonders of our sagacity and vastness of understanding, bestowed a thousand encomiums on the rationality of our souls, by the help of which we were capable of performing the most noble atchievements. Having by this artful way of flattery insinuated themselves into the hearts of men, they began to instruct them in the notions of honour and shame, representing the one as the worst of all evils, and the other as the highest good to which mortals could aspire: which being done, they laid before them how unbecoming it was the dignity of such sublime creatures to be solicitous about gratifying those appetites which they had in common with brutes, and at the same time unmindful of those higher qualities that gave them the pre-eminence over all visible beings. They indeed confessed, that those impulses of nature were very pressing; that it was troublesome to resist, and very difficult wholly to subdue them. But this they only used as an argument to demonstrate, how glorious the conquest of them was on the one hand, and how scandalous on the other not to attempt it.

To introduce moreover an emulation amongst men, they divided the whole species in two classes, vastly differing from one another. The one consisted of abject, low-minded people, that always hunting after immediate enjoyment, were wholly incapable of self-denial, and, without regard to the good of others, had no higher aim than their private advantage; such as, being enslaved by voluptuousness, yielded without resistance to every gross desire, and make no use of their rational fa-

culties but to heighten their ſenſual pleaſure: theſe vile grov'ling wretches, they ſaid, were the droſs of their kind, and having only the ſhape of men, differ'd from brutes in nothing but their outward figure. But the other claſs was made up of lofty high-ſpirited creatures, that, free from ſordid ſelfiſhneſs, eſteemed the improvements of the mind to be their faireſt poſſeſſions; and ſetting a true value upon themſelves, took no delight but in embelliſhing that part in which their excellency conſiſted; ſuch as deſpiſing whatever they had in common with irrational creatures, oppoſed by the help of reaſon their moſt violent inclinations; and making a continual war with themſelves, to promote the peace of others, aim'd at no leſs than the public welfare, and the conqueſt of their own paſſion.

Fortior eſt qui ſe, quam qui fortiſſima, vincit
Mœnia———

Theſe are called the true repreſentatives of their ſublime ſpecies, exceeding in worth the firſt claſs by more degrees, than that itſelf was ſuperior to the beaſts of the field.

As in all animals that are not too imperfect to diſcover pride, we find that the fineſt, and ſuch as are the moſt beautiful and valuable of their kind, have generally the greateſt ſhare of it; ſo in man, the moſt perfect of animals, it is ſo inſeparable from his very eſſence (how cunningly ſoever ſome may learn to hide or diguiſe it) that without it the compound he is made of would want one of the chiefeſt ingredients: which, if we conſider, it is hardly to be doubted but leſſons and remonſtrances, ſo ſkilfully adapted to the good opinion man has of himſelf, as thoſe I have mentioned, muſt,

if

if ſcatter'd amongſt a multitude, not only gain the aſſent of moſt of them, as to the ſpeculative part, but likewiſe induce ſeveral, eſpecially the fierceſt, moſt reſolute, and beſt among them, to endure a thouſand inconveniencies, and undergo as many hardſhips, that they may have the pleaſure of counting themſelves men of the ſecond claſs, and conſequently appropriating to themſelves all the excellencies they have heard of it.

From what has been ſaid we ought to expect, in the firſt place, that the heroes, who took ſuch extraordinary pains to maſter ſome of their natural appetites, and preferr'd the good of others to any viſible intereſt of their own, would not recede an inch from the fine notions they had received concerning the dignity of rational creatures; and, having ever the authority of the government on their ſide, with all imaginable vigour aſſert the eſteem that was due to thoſe of the ſecond claſs, as well as the ſuperiority over the reſt of their kind. In the ſecond, that thoſe, who want a ſufficient ſtock of either pride or reſolution to buoy them up in mortifying of what was deareſt to them, followed the ſenſual dictates of nature, would yet be aſham'd of confeſſing themſelves to be of thoſe deſpicable wretches that belonged to the inferior claſs, and were generally reckoned to be ſo little remov'd from brutes; and that therefore in their own defence they would ſay, as others did, and, hiding their own imperfections as well as they could, cry up ſelf-denial and public-ſpiritedneſs as much as any: for it is highly probable, that ſome of them, convinced by the real proofs of fortitude and ſelf-conqueſt they had ſeen, would admire in others what they found wanting in themſelves; others be afraid of the reſolution and proweſs of thoſe of

the second class, and that all of them were kept in awe by the power of their rulers; wherefore it is reasonable to think, that none of them (whatever they thought in themselves) would dare openly contradict what by every body else was thought criminal to doubt of.

This was (or at least might have been) the manner after which savage man was broke; from whence it is evident, that the first rudiments of morality, broach'd by skilfull politicians, to render men useful to each other as well as tractable, were chiefly contriv'd, that the ambitious might reap the more benefit from, and govern vast numbers of them with the greatest ease and security. This foundation of politics being once laid, it is impossible that man should long remain unciviliz'd: for even those, who only strove to gratify their appetites, being continually cross'd by others of the same stamp, could not but observe, that whenever they check'd their inclinations, or but followed them with more circumspection, they avoided a world of troubles, and often escap'd many of the calamities that generally attended the too eager pursuit after pleasure.

First, they receiv'd, as well as others, the benefit of those actions that were done for the good of the whole society, and consequently could not forbear wishing well to those of the superior class that perform'd them. Secondly, the more intent they were in seeking their own advantage, without regard to others, the more they were hourly convinced, that none stood so much in their way as those that were most like themselves.

It being the interest then of the very worst of them, more than any, to preach up public-spiritedness, that they might reap the fruits of the labour

bour and self-denial of others, and at the same time indulge their own appetites with less disturbance, they agreed with the rest, to call every thing which, without regard to the public, man should commit to gratify any of his appetites, VICE; if in that action there could be observed the least prospect, that it might either be injurious to any of the society, or ever render himself less serviceable to others: and to give the name of VIRTUE to every performance, by which man, contrary to the impulse of nature, should endeavour the benefit of others, or the conquest of his own passions, out of a rational ambition of being good.

It shall be objected, that no society was ever any ways civiliz'd before the major part had agreed upon some worship or other of an over-ruling power, and consequently that the notions of good and evil, and the distinction between Virtue and Vice, were never the contrivance of politicians, but the pure effect of religion. Before I answer this objection, I must repeat what I have said already, that in this ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF MORAL VIRTUE, I speak neither of Jews nor Christians, but man in his state of nature and ignorance of the true deity; and then I affirm, that the idolatrous superstitions of all other nations, and the pitiful notions they had of the Supreme Being, were incapable of exciting man to virtue, and good for nothing but to awe and amuse a rude and unthinking multitude. It is evident from history, that in all considerable societies, how stupid or ridiculous soever people's received notions have been as to the deities they worship'd, human nature has ever exerted itself in all its branches, and that there is no earthly wisdom or moral virtue, but

at one time or other men have excell'd in it in all monarchies and commonwealths, that for riches and power have been anyways remarkable.

The Ægyptians, not satisfied with having deified all the ugly monsters they could think on, were so silly as to adore the onions of their own sowing; yet at the same time their country was the most famous nursery of arts and sciences in the world, and themselves more eminently skill'd in the deepest mysteries of nature than any nation has been since.

No states or kingdoms under heaven have yielded more or greater patterns in all sorts of moral virtues than the Greek and Roman empires, more especially the latter; and yet how loose, absurd and ridiculous were their sentiments as to sacred matters? For without reflecting on the extravagant number of their deities, if we only consider the infamous stories they father'd upon them, it is not to be denied but that their religion, far from teaching men the conquest of their passions, and the way to virtue, seem'd rather contrived to justify their appetites, and encourage their vices. But if we would know what made them excel in fortitude, courage and magnanimity, we must cast our eyes on the pomp of their triumphs, the magnificence of their monuments and arches; their trophies, statues and inscriptions; the variety of their military crowns, their honours decreed to the dead, public encomiums on the living, and other imaginary rewards they bestowed on men of merit; and we shall find, that what carried so many of them to the utmost pitch of self-denial, was nothing but their policy in making use of the most effectual means that human pride could be flatter'd with.

It

It is visible then, that it was not any heathen religion or other idolatrous superstition, that first put man upon crossing his appetites and subduing his dearest inclinations, but the skilfull management of wary politicians; and the nearer we search into human nature, the more we shall be convinced, that the moral virtues are the political offspring which flattery begot upon pride.

There is no man of what capacity or penetration soever, that is wholly proof against the witchcraft of flattery, if artfully performed, and suited to his abilities. Children and fools will swallow personal praise, but those that are more cunning, must be managed with greater circumspection; and the more general the flattery is, the less it is suspected by those it is levell'd at. What you say in commendation of a whole town is receiv'd with pleasure by all the inhabitants: speak in commendation of letters in general, and every man of learning will think himself in particular obliged to you. You may safely praise the employment a man is of, or the country he was born in; because you give him an opportunity of screening the joy he feels upon his own account, under the esteem which he pretends to have for others.

It is common among cunning men, that understand the power which flattery has upon pride, when they are afraid they shall be imposed upon, to enlarge, though much against their conscience, upon the honour, fair dealing and integrity of the family, country, or sometimes the profession of him they suspect; because they know that men often will change their resolution, and act against their inclination, that they may have the pleasure of continuing to appear in the opinion of some, what they are conscious not to be in reality. Thus

ſagacious moraliſts draw men like angels, in hopes that the pride at leaſt of ſome will put them upon copying after the beautiful originals which they are repreſented to be.

When the incomparable Sir Richard Steel, in the uſual elegance of his eaſy ſtyle, dwells on the praiſes of his ſublime ſpecies, and with all the embelliſhments of rhetoric ſets forth the excellency of human nature, it is impoſſible not to be charmed with his happy turns of thought, and the politeneſs of his expreſſions. But though I have been often moved by the force of his eloquence, and ready to ſwallow the ingenious ſophiſtry with pleaſure, yet I could never be ſo ſerious but, reflecting on his artful encomiums, I thought on the tricks made uſe of by the women that would teach children to be mannerly. When an aukward girl, before ſhe can either ſpeak or go, begins, after many entreaties, to make the firſt rude eſſays of court'ſying, the nurſe falls into an ecſtaſy of praiſe; 'There's 'a delicate court'ſy! O fine miſs! There's a pret-'ty lady! Mamma! Miſs can make a better court'ſy 'than her ſiſter Molly!' The ſame is ecchoed over by the maids, whilſt Mamma almoſt hugs the child to pieces: only miſs Molly, who being four years older, knows how to make a very handſome court'-ſy, wonders at the perverſeneſs of their judgment; and, ſwelling with indignation, is ready to cry at the injuſtice that is done her, till, being whiſper'd in the ear that it is only to pleaſe the baby, and that ſhe is a woman, ſhe grows proud at being let into the ſecret; and, rejoicing at the ſuperiority of her underſtanding, repeats what has been ſaid with large additions, and inſults over the weakneſs of her ſiſter, whom all this while ſhe fancies to be the only bubble among them. Theſe extra-

extravagant praiſes would, by any one above the capacity of an infant, be call'd fulſome flatteries, and, if you will, abominable lies; yet experience teaches us, that by the help of ſuch groſs encomiums, young miſſes will be brought to make pretty curt'ſies, and behave themſelves womanly much ſooner, and with leſs trouble, than they would without them. 'Tis the ſame with boys, whom they'll ſtrive to perſwade, that all fine gentlemen do as they are bid, and that none but beggar boys are rude, or dirty their clothes; nay as ſoon as the wild brat with his untaught fiſt begins to fumble for his hat, the mother, to make him pull it off, tells him before he is two years old, that he is a man; and if he repeats that action when ſhe deſires him, he's preſently a captain, a lord mayor, a king, or ſomething higher if ſhe can think of it; till, egg'd on by the force of praiſe, the little urchin endeavours to imitate man as well as he can, and ſtrains all his faculties to appear what his ſhallow noddle imagines he is believed to be.

The meaneſt wretch puts an ineſtimable value upon himſelf, and the higheſt wiſh of the ambitious man is to have all the world, as to that particular, of his opinion: ſo that the moſt unſatiable thirſt after fame that ever hero was inſpired with, was never more than an ungovernable greedineſs to engroſs the eſteem and admiration of others in future ages as well as his own; and what mortification ſoever this truth might be to the ſecond thoughts of an Alexander or a Cæſar, the great recompenſe in view, for which the moſt exalted minds have with ſo much alacrity ſacrificed their quiet, health, ſenſual pleaſures and every inch of themſelves has never been any thing elſe but the breath of man, the aerial coin of praiſe. Who

can forbear laughing when he thinks on all the great men that have been so serious on the subject of that Macedonian madman, his capacious soul, that mighty heart, in one corner of which, according to Lorenzo Gratian, the world was so comodiously lodged, that in the whole there was room for six more? who can forbear laughing, I say, when he compares the fine things that have been said of Alexander, with the end he proposed to himself from his vast exploits, to be proved from his own mouth; when the vast pains he took to pass the Hydaspes forced him to cry out, "Oh ye Athenians, could you believe what dangers I expose "myself to, to be praised by you!" To define then the reward of glory in the amplest manner, the most that can be said of it is, that it consists in a superlative felicity, which a man, who is conscious of having performed a noble action, enjoys in self-love, whilst he is thinking on the applause he expects of others.

But here I shall be told, that, besides the noisy toils of war and public bustle of the ambitious, there are noble and generous actions that are performed in silence; that virtue being its own reward, those who are really good have a satisfaction in their consciousness of being so, which is all the recompence they expect from the most worthy performances; that among the heathens there have been men, who, when they did good to others, were so far from coveting thanks and applause, that they took all imaginable care to be for ever conceal'd from those on whom they bestowed their benefit, and consequently that pride has no hand in spurring man on to the highest pitch of self-denial.

In answer to this I say, that it is impossible to judge

judge of a man's performance, unleſs we are thoroughly acquainted with the principle and motive from which he acts Pity, tho' it is the moſt gentle and the leaſt miſchievous of all our paſſions, is yet as much a frailty of our nature, as anger, pride or fear. The weakeſt minds have generally the greateſt ſhare of it, for which reaſon none are more compaſſionate than women and children. It muſt be owned, that of all our weakneſſes it is the moſt amiable, and bears the greateſt reſemblance to virtue; nay, without a conſiderable mixture of it the ſociety could hardly ſubſiſt: but as it is an impulſe of nature, that conſults neither the public intereſt nor our own reaſon, it may produce evil as well as good. It has helped to deſtroy the honour of virgins, and corrupted the integrity of judges; and whoever acts from it as a principle, what good ſoever he may bring to the ſociety, has nothing to boaſt of but that he has indulged a paſſion that has happened to be beneficial to the public. There is no merit in ſaving an innocent babe ready to drop into the fire: the action is neither good nor bad, and what benefit ſoever the infant received, we only obliged our ſelves; for to have ſeen it fall, and not ſtrove to hinder it, would have cauſed a pain, which ſelf-preſervation compell'd us to prevent: nor has a rich prodigal, that happens to be of a commiſerating temper, that loves to gratify his paſſions, greater virtue to boaſt of, when he relieves an object of compaſſion with what to himſelf is a trifle.

But ſuch men, as without complying with any weakneſs of their own, can part from what they value themſelves, and, from no other motive but their love to goodneſs, perform a worthy action in ſilence; ſuch men I confeſs have acquired more

refined

refined notions of virtue than thoſe I have hitherto ſpoke of; yet even in theſe (with which the world has yet never ſwarm'd) we may diſcover no ſmall ſymptoms of pride, and the humbleſt man alive muſt confeſs, that the reward of a virtuous action, which is the ſatisfaction that enſues upon it, conſiſts in a certain pleaſure he procures to himſelf by contemplating on his own worth: which pleaſure, together with the occaſion of it, are as certain ſigns of pride, as looking pale and trembling at any imminent danger are the ſymptoms of fear.

If the too ſcrupulous reader ſhould at firſt view condemn theſe notions concerning the origin of moral virtue, and think them perhaps offenſive to Chriſtianity, I hope he'll forbear his cenſures, when he ſhall conſider, that nothing can render the unſearchable depth of the divine wiſdom more conſpicuous, than that Man, whom providence had deſigned for ſociety, ſhould not only by his own frailties and imperfections be led into the road to temporal happineſs, but likewiſe receive from a ſeeming neceſſity of natural cauſes, a tincture of that knowledge, in which he was afterwards to be made perfect by the true religion, to his eternal welfare.

REMARKS.

REMARKS.

(A.) Whilſt others follow'd myſteries,
To which few folks bind 'prentices:

Page 2. Line 21.

IN the education of youth, in order to their getting of a livelihood when they ſhall be arrived at maturity, moſt people look out for ſome warrantable employment or other, of which there are whole bodies or companies, in every large ſociety of men. By this means all arts and ſciences, as well as trades and handicrafts, are perpetuated in the commonwealth, as long as they are found uſeful; the young ones that are daily brought up to them, continually ſupplying the loſs of the old ones that die. But ſome of theſe employments being vaſtly more creditable than others, according to the great difference of the charges required to ſet up in each of them, all prudent parents in the choice of them chiefly conſult their own abilities, and the circumſtances they are in. A man that gives three or four hundred pounds with his ſon to a great merchant, and has not two or three thouſand pounds to ſpare againſt he is out of his time to begin the world with, is much to blame not to have brought his child up to ſomething that might be followed with leſs money.

There are abundance of men of a gentile education

tion, that have but very small revenues, and yet are forced, by their reputable callings, to make a greater figure than ordinary people of twice their income. If these have any children, it often happens, that as their indigence renders them incapable of bringing them up to creditable occupation, so their pride makes them unwilling to put them out to any of the mean laborious trades, and then, in hopes either of an alteration in their fortune, or that some friends, or favourable opportunity shall offer, they from time to time put off the disposing of them, 'till insensibly they come to be of age, and are at last brought up to nothing. Whether this neglect be more barbarous to the children, or prejudicial to the society, I shall not determine. At Athens all children were forced to assist their parents, if they came to want: but Solon made a law, that no son should be obliged to relieve his father, who had not bred him up to any calling.

Some parents put out their sons to good trades very suitable to their then present abilities, but happen to die or fail in the world, before the children have finished their apprenticeships, or are made fit for the business they are to follow: a great many young men again on the other hand are handsomely provided for, and set up for themselves, that yet (some for want of industry, or else a sufficient knowledge in their callings, others by indulging their pleasures, and some few by misfortunes) are reduced to poverty, and altogether unable to maintain themselves by the business they were brought up to. It is impossible but that the neglects, mismanagements and misfortunes I named, must very frequently happen in populous places, and consequently great numbers of people be daily flung unprovided for into the wide world, how rich and potent a commonwealth may be, or what care soever

ever a government may take to hinder it. How must these people be disposed of? the sea, I know and armies which the world is seldom without, will take off some. Those that are honest drudges, and of a laborious temper, will become journeymen to the trades they are of, or enter into some other service: such of them as study'd and were sent to the university, may become schoolmasters, tutors, and some few of them get into some office or other: but what must become of the lazy that care for no manner of working, and the fickle that hate to be confined to any thing.

Those that ever took delight in plays and romances, and have a spice of gentility, will, in all probability, throw their eyes upon the stage, and, if they have a good elocution with tolerable mein, turn actors. Some that love their bellies above any thing else, if they have a good palate, and a little knack at cookery, will strive to get in with gluttons and epicures, learn to cringe and bear all manner of usage, and so turn parasites, ever flattering the master, and making mischief among the rest of the family. Others who, by their own and companions lewdness, judge of people's incontinence, will naturally fall to intriguing, and endeavour to live by pimping for such as either want leisure or address to speak for themselves. Those of the most abandoned principles of all, if they are sly and dexterous, turn sharpers, pick-pockets or coiners, if their skill and ingenuity give them leave. Others again that have observed the credulity of simple women, and other foolish people, if they have impudence and a little cunning, either set up for doctors, or else pretend to tell fortunes; and every one turning the vices and frailties of others to his own advantage, endeavours to pick up a living

ing the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way his talent and abilities will let him.

Theſe are certainly the bane of civil ſociety; but they are fools, who not conſidering what has been ſaid, ſtorm at the remiſneſs of the laws that ſuffer them to live, whilſt wiſe men content themſelves with taking all imaginable care not to be circumvented by them; without quarrelling at what no human prudence can prevent.

(B.) *Theſe were call'd knaves, but bar the name,*
The grave induſtrious were the ſame.

Page 2. Line 35.

THIS, I confeſs, is but a very indifferent compliment to all the trading part of the people. But if the word Knave may be underſtood in its full latitude, and comprehend every body that is not ſincerely honeſt, and does to others what he would diſlike to have done to himſelf, I don't queſtion but I ſhall make good the charge. To paſs by the innumerable artifices, by which buyers and ſellers out-wit one another, that are daily allowed of, and practiſed among the faireſt of dealers; ſhew me the tradeſman that has always diſcovered the defects of his goods to thoſe that cheapen'd them; nay, where will you find one that has not at one time or other induſtriouſly conceal'd them, to the detriment of the buyer? Where is the merchant that has never againſt his conſcience extoll'd his wares beyond their worth, to make them go off the better?

Decio,

Decio, a man of great figure, that had large commiſſions for ſugar from ſeveral parts beyond ſea, treats about a conſiderable parcel of that commodity with Alcander an eminent Weſt-India merchant; both underſtood the market very well, but could not agree: Decio was a man of ſubſtance, and thought no body ought to buy cheaper than himſelf; Alcander was the ſame, and, not wanting money, ſtood for his price. Whilſt they were driving their bargain at a tavern near the exchange, Alcander's man brought his maſter a letter from the Weſt-Indies, that informed him of a much greater quantity of ſugars coming for England than was expected. Alcander now wiſhed for nothing more than to ſell at Decio's price, before the news was public; but being a cunning fox, that he might not ſeem too precipitant, nor yet loſe his cuſtomer, he drops the diſcourſe they were upon, and, putting on a jovial humour, commends the agreeableneſs of the weather, from whence falling upon the delight he took in his gardens, invites Decio to go along with him to his country-houſe, that was not above twelve miles from London. It was in the month of May, and as it happened upon a Saturday in the afternoon; Decio, who was a ſingle man, and would have no buſineſs in town before Tueſday, accepts of the other's civility, and away they go in Alcander's coach. Decio was ſplendidly entertained that night, and the day following; the Monday morning, to get himſelf an appetite, he goes to take the air upon a pad of Alcander's, and coming back meets with a gentleman of his acquaintance, who tells him news was come the night before, that the Barbadoes fleet was deſtroyed by a ſtorm, and adds, that before he came

came out, it had been confirmed at Llyod's coffee-house, where it was thought sugars would rise 25 per cent. by change time. Decio returns to his friend, and immediately resumes the discourse they had broke off at the tavern: Alcander, who thinking himself sure of his chap, did not design to have moved it till after dinner, was very glad to see himself so happily prevented; but how desirous soever he was to sell, the other was yet more eager to buy; yet both of them, afraid of one another for a considerable time, counterfeited all the indifference imaginable; till at last Decio, fired with what he had heard, thought delays might prove dangerous, and, throwing a guinea upon the table, struck the bargain at Alcander's price. The next day they went to London; the news proved true, and Decio got five hundred pounds by his sugars. Alcander, whilst he had strove to over-reach the other, was paid in his own coin: yet all this is called fair dealing; but I am sure neither of them would have desired to be done by, as they did to each other.

(C.) The soldiers that were forc'd to fight,
If they surviv'd, got honour by't.

Page 4. Line 5.

SO unaccountable is the desire to be thought well of in men, that tho' they are dragg'd into the war against their will, and some of them for their crimes, and are compell'd to fight with threats, and

and often blows, yet they would be esteemed for what they would have avoided, if it had been in their power: whereas, if reason [illegible] of equal weight with his pride, he could not [illegible] with praises which he is conscious he does not deserve.

By honour, in its proper and genuine signification, we mean nothing else but the good opinion of others, which is counted more or less substantial, the more or less noise or bustle there is made about the demonstration of it; and when we say the sovereign is the fountain of honour, it signifies that he has the power, by titles or ceremonies, or both together, to stamp a mark upon whom he pleases, that shall be as current as his coin, and procure the owner the good opinion of every body, whether he deserves it or not.

The reverse of honour is dishonour, or ignominy, which consists in the bad opinion and contempt of others; and as the first is counted a reward for good actions, so this is esteem'd a punishment for bad ones; and the more or less public or heinous the manner is in which this contempt of others is shewn, the more or less the person so suffering is degraded by it. This ignominy is likewise call'd shame, from the effect it produces; for tho' the good and evil of honour and dishonour are imaginary, yet there is a reality in shame, as it signifies a passion that has its proper symptoms, over-rules our reason, and requires as much labour and self-denial to be subdued, as any of the rest; and since the most important actions of life often are regulated according to the influence this passion has upon us, a through understanding of it must help to illustrate the notions the world has of honour and ignominy. I shall therefore describe it at large.

First,

First, to define the passion of shame, I think it may be called "a sorrowful reflection on our own "unworthiness, proceeding from an apprehension "that others either do, or might, if they knew "all, deservedly despise us." The only objection of weight, that can be raised against this definition is, that innocent virgins are often ashamed, and blush when they are guilty of no crime, and can give no manner of reason for this frailty: and that men are often ashamed for others, for, or with whom they have neither friendship or affinity; and consequently that there may be a thousand instances of shame given, to which the words of the definition are not applicable. To answer this I would have it first considered, that the modesty of women is the result of custom and education, by which all unfashionable denudations and filthy expressions are rendred frightful and abominable to them, and that notwithstanding this, the most virtuous young woman alive will often, in spite of her teeth, have thoughts, and confused ideas of things arise in her imagination, which she would not reveal to some people for a thousand worlds. Then, I say, that when obscene words are spoken in the presence of an unexperienced virgin, she is afraid that some body will reckon her to understand what they mean, and consequently that she understands this, and that, and several things which she desires to be thought ignorant of. The reflecting on this, and that thoughts are forming to her disadvantage, brings upon her that passion which we call shame; and whatever can fling her tho' never so remote from lewdness, upon that set of thoughts I hinted, and which she thinks criminal, will have the same effect, especially before men, as long as her modesty lasts.

To

To try the truth of this, let them talk as much bawdy as they pleaſe in the room next to the ſame virtuous young woman, where ſhe is ſure that ſhe is undiſcovered, and ſhe will hear, if not hearken to it, without bluſhing at all, becauſe then ſhe looks upon herſelf as no party concerned; and if the diſcourſe ſhould ſtain her cheeks with red, whatever her innocence may imagine, it is certain, that what occaſions her colour is a paſſion not half ſo mortifying as that of ſhame: but if in the ſame place ſhe hears ſomething ſaid of herſelf that muſt tend to her diſgrace, or any thing is named, of which ſhe is ſecretly guilty, then 'tis ten to one but ſhe'll be aſhamed and bluſh, tho' no body ſees her; becauſe ſhe has room to fear, that ſhe is, or if all was known, ſhould be thought of contemptibly.

That we are often aſham'd, and bluſh for others, which was the ſecond part of the objection, is nothing elſe but that ſometimes we make the caſe of others too nearly our own; ſo people ſhriek out when they ſee others in danger: whilſt we are reflecting with too much earneſt on the effect which ſuch a blameable action, if it was ours, would produce in us, the ſpirits, and conſequently the blood are inſenſibly mov'd after the ſame manner, as if the action was our own, and ſo the ſame ſymptoms muſt appear.

The ſhame that raw, ignorant, and ill-bred people, tho' ſeemingly without a cauſe, diſcover before their betters is always accompanied with, and proceeds from a conſciouſneſs of their weakneſs and inabilities; and the moſt modeſt man, how virtuous, knowing and accompliſhed ſoever he might be, was never yet aſhamed without ſome guilt or diffidence. Such as out of ruſticity, and

want

want of education are unreasonably subject to, and at every turn overcome by this passion, we call unful; and those who out of disrespect to others, and a false opinion of their own sufficiency, have learned not to be affected with it, when they should be, are called impudent or shameless. What strange contradictions man is made of! The reverse of shame is pride, (see remark M.) yet no body can be touched with the first, that never felt any thing of the latter; for that we have such an extraordinary concern in what others think of us, can proceed from nothing but the vast esteem we have for ourselves.

That these two passions, in which the seeds of most virtues are contained, are realities in our frame, and not imaginary qualities, is demonstrable from the plain and different effects, that in spite of our reason are produced in as soon as we are affected with either.

When a man is overwhelm'd with shame, he observes a sinking of the spirits; the heart feels cold and condensed, and the blood flies from it to the circumference of the body; the face glows, the neck and part of the breast partake of the fire: he is heavy as lead; the head is hung down, and the eyes through a mist of confusion are fixed on the ground: no injuries can move him; he is weary of his being, and heartily wishes he could make himself invisible: but when gratifying his vanity, he exults in his pride, he discovers quite contrary symptoms; his spirits swell and fan the arterial blood; a more than ordinary warmth strengthens and dilates the heart; the extremities are cool; he feels light to himself, and imagines he could tread on air; his head is held up, his eyes roll'd about with sprightliness; he rejoices at his being, is prone

to

to anger, and would be glad that all the world could take notice of him.

It is incredible how neceſſary an ingredient ſhame is to make us ſociable; it is a frailty in our nature; all the world, whenever it affects them, ſubmit to it with regret, and would prevent it if they could; yet the happineſs of converſation depends upon it, and no ſociety could be poliſhed, if the generality of mankind were not ſubject to it. As therefore the ſenſe of ſhame is troubleſome, and all creatures are ever labouring for their own defence, it is probable that man, ſtriving to avoid this uneaſineſs, would in a great meaſure conquer his ſhame by that he was grown up; but this would be detrimental to the ſociety, and therefore, from his infancy throughout his education, we endeavour to increaſe inſtead of leſſening or deſtroying this ſenſe of ſhame; and the only remedy preſcribed, is a ſtrict obſervance of certain rules to avoid thoſe things that might bring this troubleſome ſenſe of ſhame upon him. But as to rid or cure him of it, the politician would ſooner take away his life.

The rules I ſpeak of conſiſt in a dexterous management of our ſelves, a ſtifling of our appetites, and hiding the real ſentiments of our hearts before others. Thoſe who are not inſtructed in theſe rules long before they come to years of maturity, ſeldom make any progreſs in them afterwards. To acquire and bring to perfection the accompliſhment I hint at, nothing is more aſſiſting than pride and good ſenſe. The greedineſs we have after the eſteem of others, and the raptures we enjoy in the thoughts of being liked, and perhaps admired, are equivalents that over-pay the conqueſt of the ſtrongeſt paſſions, and conſequently keep us at great diſtance from all ſuch words or actions that can bring

shame upon us. The passions we chiefly ought to hide for the happiness and embellishment of the society are lust, pride, and selfishness; therefore the word Modesty has three different acceptations, that vary with the passions it conceals.

As to the first, I mean that branch of modesty, that has a general pretension to chastity for its object, it consists in a sincere and painful endeavour, with all our faculties, to stifle and conceal before others that inclination which nature has given us to propagate our species. The lessons of it, like those of Grammar, are taught us long before we have occasion for, or understand the usefulness of them: for this reason children often are ashamed, and blush out of modesty, before the impulse of nature I hint at makes any impression upon them. A girl who is modestly educated may, before she is two years old, begin to observe how careful the women she converses with are of covering themselves before men; and the same caution being inculcated to her by precept as well as example, it is very probable that at six she'll be ashamed of shewing her leg, without knowing any reason why such an act is blameable, or what the tendency of it is.

To be modest, we ought in the first place to avoid all unfashionable denudations: a woman is not to be found fault with for going with her neck bare, if the custom of the country allows of it; and when the mode orders the stays to be cut very low, a blooming virgin may, without fear of rational censure, shew all the world

> How firm her pouting breasts, that white as snow
> On th' ample chest at mighty distance grow.

But to suffer her ancle to be seen, where it is the fashion for women to hide their very feet, is a breach

breach of modesty; and she is impudent, who shews half her face in a country where decency bids her to be veil'd. In the second, our language must be chaste, and not only free, but remote from obscenities; that is, whatever belongs to the multiplication of our species is not to be spoke of, and the least word or expression, that, tho' at a great distance, has any relation to that performance, ought never to come from our lips. Thirdly, all postures and motions that can any ways sully the imagination, that is, put us in mind of what I have called obscenities, are to be forbore with great caution.

A young woman moreover, that would be thought well-bred, ought to be circumspect before men in all her behaviour, and never known to receive from, much less to bestow favours upon, them, unless the great age of the man, near consanguinity, or a vast superiority on either side, plead her excuse. A young lady of refined education keeps a strict guard over her looks, as well as actions, and in her eyes we may read a consciousness that she has a treasure about her, not out of danger of being lost, and which yet she is resolved not to part with at any terms. Thousand satyrs have been made against prudes, and as many encomiums to extol the careless graces, and negligent air of virtuous beauty. But the wiser sort of mankind are well assured, that the free and open countenance of the smiling fair, is more inviting, and yields greater hopes to the seducer, than the ever-watchful look of a forbidding eye.

This strict reservedness, is to be comply'd with by all young women, especially virgins, if they value the esteem of the polite and knowing world; men may take greater liberty, because in them the

appetite is more violent and ungovernable. Had equal harſhneſs of diſcipline been impoſed upon both, neither of them could have made the firſt advances, and propagation muſt have ſtood ſtill among all the faſhionable people: which being far from the politician's aim, it was adviſeable to eaſe and indulge the ſex that ſuffer'd moſt by the ſeverity, and make the rules abate of their rigour where the paſſion was the ſtrongeſt, and the burden of a ſtrict reſtraint would have been the moſt intolerable.

For this reaſon, the man is allowed openly to profeſs the veneration and great eſteem he has for women, and ſhew greater ſatisfaction, more mirth and gayety in their company, than he is uſed to do out of it. He may not only be complaiſant and ſerviceable to them on all occaſions, but it is reckoned his duty to protect and defend them. He may praiſe the good qualities they are poſſeſſed of, and extol their merit with as many exaggerations as his invention will let him, and are conſiſtent with good ſenſe. He may talk of love, he may ſigh and complain of the rigours of the fair, and what his tongue muſt not utter he has the privilege to ſpeak with his eyes, and in that language to ſay what he pleaſes; ſo it be done with decency, and ſhort abrupted glances: but too cloſely to purſue a woman, and faſten upon her with one's eyes, is counted very unmannerly; the reaſon is plain, it makes her uneaſy, and, if ſhe be not ſufficiently fortified by art and diſſimulation, often throws her into viſible diſorders. As the eyes are the windows of the ſoul, ſo this ſtaring impudence flings a raw unexperienced woman into panic fears, that ſhe may be ſeen through; and that the man will diſcover, or has already betrayed, what paſſes

ſes within her; it keeps her on a perpetual rack, that commands her to reveal her ſecret wiſhes, and ſeems deſigned to extort from her the grand truth, which modeſty bids her with all her faculties to deny.

The multitude will hardly believe the exceſſive force of education, and in the difference of modeſty between men and women aſcribe that to nature which is altogether owing to early inſtruction: miſs is ſcarce three years old, but ſhe is ſpoke to every day to hide her leg, and rebuked in good earneſt if ſhe ſhews it; whilſt little maſter at the ſame age is bid to take up his coats, and piſs like a man. It is ſhame and education that contain the ſeeds of all politeneſs, and he that has neither, and offers to ſpeak the truth of his heart, and what he feels within, is the moſt contemptible creature upon earth, though he committed no other fault. If a man ſhould tell a woman, that he could like no body ſo well to propagate his ſpecies upon, as her ſelf, and that he found a violent deſire that moment to go about it, and accordingly offered to lay hold of her for that purpoſe; the conſequence would be, that he would be called a brute, the woman would run away, and himſelf never be admitted in any civil company. There is no body that has any ſenſe of ſhame, but would conquer the ſtrongeſt paſſion rather than be ſo ſerved. But a man need not conquer his paſſions, it is ſufficient that he conceals them. Virtue bids us ſubdue, but good breeding only requires we ſhould hide our appetites. A faſhionable gentleman may have as violent an inclination to a woman as the brutiſh fellow; but then he behaves himſelf quite otherwiſe: he firſt addreſſes the lady's father, and demonſtrates his ability ſplendidly to maintain his

daughter; upon this he is admitted into her company, where, by flattery, ſubmiſſion, preſents and aſſiduity, he endeavours to procure her liking to his perſon, which if he can compaſs, the lady in a little while reſigns herſelf to him before witneſſes in a moſt ſolemn manner; at night they go to bed together, where the moſt reſerved virgin very tamely ſuffers him to do what he pleaſes, and the upſhot is, that he obtains what he wanted without having ever aſked for it.

The next day they receive viſits, and no body laughs at them, or ſpeaks a word of what they have been doing. As to the young couple themſelves, they take no more notice of one another, I ſpeak of well-bred people, than they did the day before; they eat and drink, divert themſelves as uſually, and having done nothing to be aſhamed of, are looked upon as, what in reality they may be, the moſt modeſt people upon earth. What I mean by this, is to demonſtrate, that by being well bred, we ſuffer no abridgment in our ſenſual pleaſures, but only labour for our mutual happineſs, and aſſiſt each other in the luxurious enjoyment of all worldly comforts. The fine gentleman I ſpoke of, need not practiſe any greater ſelf-denial than the ſavage, and the latter acted more according to the laws of nature and ſincerity than the firſt. The man that gratifies his appetites after the manner the cuſtom of the country allows of, has no cenſure to fear. If he is hotter than goats and bulls as ſoon as the ceremony is over, let him fate and fatigue himſelf with joy and extaſies of pleaſure, raiſe and indulge his appetites by turns, as extravagantly as his ſtrength and manhood will give him leave, he may with ſafety laugh at the wiſe men that ſhould reprove him; all the women and above

nine

nine in ten of the men are of his side: nay, he has the liberty of valuing himself upon the fury of his unbridled passion; and the more he wallows in lust, and strains every faculty to be abandon'dly voluptuous, the sooner he shall have the good-will and gain the affection of the women, not the young, vain and lascivious only, but the prudent, grave and most sober matrons.

Because impudence is a vice, it does not follow that modesty is a virtue; it is built upon shame, a passion in our nature, and may be either good or bad according to the actions performed from that motive. Shame may hinder a prostitute from yielding to a man before company, and the same shame may cause a bashful good natur'd creature, that has been overcome by frailty, to make away with her infant. Passions may do good by chance, but there can be no merit but in the conquest of them.

Was there virtue in modesty, it would be of the same force in the dark as it is in the light, which it is not. This the men of pleasure know very well, who never trouble their heads with a woman's virtue, so they can but conquer her modesty; seducers therefore don't make their attacks at noon-day, but cut their trenches at night.

Illa verecundiæ lux est præbenda puellis,
Qua timidus latebras sperat habere pudor.

People of substance may sin without being expos'd for their stolen pleasure; but servants and the poorer sort of women have seldom an opportunity of concealing a big belly, or at least the consequences of it. It is possible that an unfortunate girl of good parentage may be left destitute, and know no shift for a livelihood than to become

a nurſe, or a chambermaid: ſhe may be diligent, faithful and obliging, and have abundance of modeſty, and, if you will, be religious: ſhe may reſiſt temptations, and preſerve her chaſtity for years together; and yet at laſt meet with an unhappy moment, in which ſhe gives up her honour to a powerful deceiver, who afterwards neglects her. If ſhe proves with child, her ſorrows are unſpeakable, and ſhe can't be reconcil'd with the wretchedneſs of her condition; the fear of ſhame attacks her ſo lively, that every thought diſtracts her. All the family ſhe lives in have a great opinion of her virtue, and her laſt miſtreſs took her for a ſaint. How will her enemies, that envied her character, rejoice! how will her relations deteſt her! the more modeſt ſhe is now, and the more violently the dread of coming to ſhame hurries her away, the more wicked and more cruel her reſolutions will be, either againſt herſelf or what ſhe bears.

It is commonly imagined that ſhe, who can deſtroy her child, her own fleſh and blood, muſt have a vaſt ſtock of barbarity, and be a ſavage monſter, different from other women; but this is likewiſe a miſtake which we commit for want of underſtanding nature and the force of paſſions. The ſame woman that murders her baſtard in the moſt execrable manner, if ſhe is married afterwards, may take care of, cheriſh, and feel all the tenderneſs for her infant, that the fondeſt mother can be capable of. All mothers naturally love their children; but as this is a paſſion, and all paſſions center in ſelf-love, ſo it may be ſubdued by any ſuperior paſſion, to ſoothe that ſame ſelf-love, which, if nothing had interveened, would have bid her fondle her offſpring. Common whores,

whom

whom all the world knows to be such, hardly ever destroy their children; nay, even those who assist in robberies and murders, seldom are guilty of this crime; not because they are less cruel, or more virtuous, but because they have lost their modesty to a greater degree, and the fear of shame makes hardly any impression upon them.

Our love to what never was within the reach of our senses is but poor and inconsiderable, and therefore women have no natural love to what they bear; their affection begins after the birth; what they feel before is the result of reason, education, and the thoughts of duty. Even when children first are born, the mother's love is but weak, and encreases with the sensibility of the child, and grows up to a prodigious height, when by signs it begins to express his sorrows and joys, makes his wants known, and discovers his love to novelty, and the multiplicity of his desires. What labours and hazards have not women undergone to maintain and save their children? what force and fortitude beyond their sex have they not shewn in their behalf! But the vilest women have exerted themselves on this head as violently as the best. All are prompted to it by a natural drift and inclination, without any consideration of the injury or benefit the society receives from it. There is no merit in pleasing ourselves, and the very offspring is often irrepairably ruined by the excessive fondness of parents; for tho' infants for two or three years may be the better for this indulging care of mothers; yet afterwards, if not moderated, it may totally spoil them, and many it has brought to the gallows.

If the reader thinks I have been too tedious on that branch of modesty, by the help of which we

endeavour to appear chaſte, I ſhall make him amends in the brevity with which I deſign to treat of the remaining part, by which we would make others believe, that the eſteem we have for them exceeds the value we have for ourſelves, and that we have no diſregard ſo great to any intereſt as we have to our own. This laudable quality is commonly known by the name of manners and good-breeding, and conſiſts in a faſhionable habit, acquired by precept and example, of flattering the pride and ſelfiſhneſs of others, and concealing our own with judgment and dexterity. This muſt be only underſtood of our commerce with our equals and ſuperiors, and whilſt we are in peace and amity with them; for our complaiſance muſt never interfere with the rules of honour, nor the homage that is due to us from ſervants and others that depend upon us.

With this caution, I believe, that the definition will quadrate with every thing that can be alledg'd as a piece or an example of either good breeding or ill manners; and it will be very difficult throughout the various accidents of human life and converſation to find out an inſtance of modeſty or impudence that is not comprehended in, and illuſtrated by it, in all countries, and in all ages. A man that aſks conſiderable favours of one who is a ſtranger to him, without conſideration, is called impudent, becauſe he ſhews openly his ſelfiſhneſs without having any regard to the ſelfiſhneſs of the other. We may ſee in it likewiſe the reaſon why a man ought to ſpeak of his wife and children, and every thing that is dear to him, as ſparing as is poſſible, and hardly ever of himſelf, eſpecially in commendation of them. A well-bred man may be deſirous, and even greedy after praiſe and the eſteem

eſteem of others, but to be praiſed to his face offends his modeſty: the reaſon is this; all human creatures, before they are yet poliſhed, receive an extraordinary pleaſure in hearing themſelves praiſed: this we are all conſcious of, and therefore when we ſee a man openly enjoy and feaſt on this delight, in which we have no ſhare, it rouſes our ſelfiſhneſs, and immediately we begin to envy and hate him. For this reaſon the well-bred man conceals his joy, and utterly denies that he feels any, and by this means conſulting and ſoothing our ſelfiſhneſs, he averts that envy and hatred, which otherwiſe he would have juſtly to fear. When from our childhood we obſerve how thoſe are ridicul'd who calmly can hear their own praiſes, it is poſſible, that we may ſo ſtrenuouſly endeavour to avoid that pleaſure, that in tract of time we grow uneaſy at the approach of it: but this is not following the dictates of nature, but warping her by education and cuſtom; for if the generality of mankind took no delight in being praiſed, there could be no modeſty in refuſing to hear it.

The man of manners picks not the beſt but rather takes the worſt out of the diſh, and gets of every thing, unleſs it be forced upon him, always the moſt indifferent ſhare. By this civility the beſt remains for others, which being a compliment to all that are preſent, every body is pleaſed with it: the more they love themſelves, the more they are forced to approve of his behaviour, and gratitude ſtepping in, they are obliged almoſt, whether they will or not, to think favourably of him. After this manner it is that the well-bred man inſinuates himſelf in the eſteem of all the companies he comes in, and if he gets nothing elſe by it, the pleaſure he receives in reflecting on the applauſe

which he knows is secretly given him, is to a proud man more than an equivalent for his former self-denial, and over-pays to self-love with interest the loss it sustained in his complaisance to others.

If there are seven or eight apples or peaches among six people of ceremony, that are pretty near equal, he who is prevail'd upon to chuse first, will take that which, if there be any considerable difference, a child would know to be the worst: this he does to insinuate, that he looks upon those he is with to be of superior merit, and that there is not one whom he wishes not better to than he does to himself. 'Tis custom and a general practice that makes this modish deceit familiar to us, without being shocked at the absurdity of it; for if people had been used to speak from the sincerity of their hearts, and act according to the natural sentiments they felt within, 'till they were three or four and twenty, it would be impossible for them to assist at this comedy of manners, without either loud laughter or indignation; and yet it is certain, that such behaviour makes us more tolerable to one another than we could be otherwise.

It is very advantageous to the knowledge of ourselves, to be able well to distinguish between good qualities and virtues. The bond of society exacts from every member a certain regard for others, which the highest is not exempt from in the presence of the meanest, even in an empire: but when we are by ourselves, and so far remov'd from company as to be beyond the reach of their senses, the words, modesty and impudence lose their meaning; a person may be wicked, but he cannot be immodest whilst he is alone, and no thought can be impudent that never was communicated

nicated to another. A man of exalted pride may so hide it, that no body shall be able to discover that he has any; and yet receive greater satisfaction from that passion than another, who indulges himself in the declaration of it before all the world. Good manners have nothing to do with virtue or religion; instead of extinguishing, they rather inflame the passions. The man of sense and education never exults more in his pride than when he hides it with the greatest dexterity; and in feasting on the applause which he is sure all good judges will pay to his behaviour, he enjoys a pleasure altogether unknown to the short-sighted surly Alderman, that shews his haughtiness glaringly in his face, pulls of his hat to no body, and hardly deigns to speak to an inferior.

A man may carefully avoid every thing, that in the eye of the world is esteemed to be the result of pride, without mortifying himself, or making the least conquest of his passion. It is possible that he only sacrifices the insipid outward part of his pride, which none but silly ignorant people take delight in, to that part we all feel within, and which the men of the highest spirit and most exalted genius feed on with so much extasy in silence. The pride of great and polite men is no where more conspicuous than in the debates about ceremony and precedency, where they have an opportunity of giving their vices the appearance of virtues, and can make the world believe that it is their care, their tenderness for the dignity of their office, or the honour of their masters, what is the result of their own personal pride and vanity. This is most manifest in all negotiations of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, and must be known by all that observe what is transacted at public

public treaties; and it will ever be true, that men of the beſt taſte have no reliſh in their pride, as long as any mortal can find out that they are proud.

(D.) *For there was not a bee that would*
Get more, I won't ſay than he ſhould;
But than, &c.

Page 4. Line 29.

THE vaſt eſteem we have of our ſelves, and the ſmall value we have for others, make us all very unfair judges in our own caſes. Few men can be perſuaded that they get too much by thoſe they ſell to, how extraordinary ſoever their gains are, when at the ſame time there is hardly a profit ſo inconſiderable, but they'll grudge it to thoſe they buy from: for this reaſon the ſmallneſs of the ſeller's advantage being the greateſt perſwaſive to the buyer, tradeſmen are generally forced to tell lies in their own defence, and invent a thouſand improbable ſtories, rather than diſcover what they really get by their commodities. Some old ſtanders indeed that pretend to more honeſty, or, what is more likely, have more pride, than their neighbours, are uſed to make but few words with their cuſtomers, and refuſe to ſell at a lower price than what they aſk'd at firſt. But theſe are commonly cunning foxes that are above the world, and know that thoſe who have money, get often more by being ſurly, than others by being obliging. The

vulgar

vulgar imagine they can find more ſincerity in the ſowre looks of a grave old fellow, than there appears in the ſubmiſſive air and inviting complacency of a young beginner. But this is a grand miſtake; and if they are mercers, drapers or others, that have many ſorts of the ſame commodity, you may ſoon be ſatisfied; look upon their goods and you'll find each of them have their private marks, which is a certain ſign that both are equally careful in concealing the prime coſt of what they ſell.

(E.) ——— *As your gameſters do,*
Who, tho' at fair play, ne'er will own
Before the loſers what they've won.

Page 4. Line 32.

THIS being a general practice which no body can be ignorant of, that has ever ſeen any play, there muſt be ſomething in the make of man that is the occaſion of it: but as the ſearching into this will ſeem very trifling to many, I deſire the reader to ſkip this remark, unleſs he be in perfect good humour, and has nothing at all to do.

That gameſters generally endeavour to conceal their gains before the loſers, ſeems to me to proceed from a mixture of gratitude, pity and ſelf-preſervation. All men are naturally grateful whilſt they receive a benefit, and what they ſay or do, whilſt it affects and feels warm about them, is real, and comes from the heart; but when that is over, the returns we make generally proceed from vir-

tue

tue, good manners, reaſon and the thoughts of duty, but not from gratitude, which is a motive of the inclination. If we conſider how tyrannically the immoderate love we bear to our ſelves, obliges us to eſteem every body that with or without deſign acts in our favour, and how often we extend our affection to things inanimate, when we imagine them to contribute to our preſent advantage: if, I ſay, we conſider this, it will not be difficult to find out which way our being pleaſed with thoſe whoſe money we win is owing to a principle of gratitude. The next motive is our pity, which proceeds from our conſciouſneſs of the vexation there is in loſing; and as we love the eſteem of every body, we are afraid of forfeiting theirs by being the cauſe of their loſs. Laſtly, we apprehend their envy; and ſo ſelf-preſervation makes that we ſtrive to extenuate firſt the obligation, then the reaſon why we ought to pity, in hopes that we ſhall have leſs of their ill-will and envy. When the paſſions ſhew themſelves in their full ſtrength they are known by every body: when a man in power gives a great place to one that did him a ſmall kindneſs in his youth, we call it gratitude: when a woman howls and wrings her hands at the loſs of her child, the prevalent paſſion is grief; and the uneaſineſs we feel at the ſight of great misfortunes, as a man breaking his legs or daſhing his brains out, is every where called pity. But the gentle ſtrokes, the ſlight touches of the paſſions, are generally overlooked or miſtaken.

To prove my aſſertion, we have but to obſerve what generally paſſes between the winner and the loſer. The firſt is always complaiſant, and, if the other will but keep his temper, more than ordinarily obliging; he is ever ready to humour the loſer

loſer, and willing to rectify his miſtakes with precaution, and the height of good manners. The loſer is uneaſy, captious, moroſe, and perhaps ſwears and ſtorms; yet as long as he ſays or does nothing deſignedly affronting, the winner takes all in good part, without offending, diſturbing or contradicting him. "Loſers," ſays the proverb, "muſt have leave to rail:" all which ſhews, that the loſer is thought in the right to complain, and for that very reaſon pitied. That we are afraid of the loſer's ill-will is plain from our being conſcious that we are diſpleaſed with thoſe we loſe to, and envy we always dread when we think ourſelves happier than others: from whence it follows, that when the winner endeavours to conceal his gains, his deſign is to avert the miſchiefs he apprehends, and this is ſelf-preſervation; the cares of which continue to affect us as long as the motives that firſt produced them remain.

But a month, a week, or perhaps a much ſhorter time after, when the thoughts of the obligation, and conſequently the winner's gratitude, are worn off, when the loſer has recovered his temper, laughs at his loſs, and the reaſon of the winner's pity ceaſes; when the winner's apprehenſion of drawing upon him the ill-will and envy of the loſer is gone; that is to ſay, aſſoon as all the paſſions are over, and the cares of ſelf-preſervation employ the winner's thoughts no longer, he'll not only make no ſcruple of owning what he has won, but will, if his vanity ſteps in, likewiſe, with pleaſure, brag of, if not exaggerate his gains.

It is poſſible, that when people play together who are at enmity, and perhaps deſirous of picking a quarrel, or where men playing for trifles, contend for ſuperiority of ſkill, and aim chiefly at the

the glory of conqueſt, nothing ſhall happen of what I have been talking of. Different paſſions oblige us to take different meaſures; what I have ſaid I would have underſtood of ordinary play for money, at which men endeavour to get, and venture to loſe what they value: and even here I know it will be objected by many, that tho' they have been guilty of concealing their gains, yet they never obſerved thoſe paſſions which I alledge as the cauſes of that frailty; which is no wonder, becauſe few men will give themſelves leiſure, and fewer yet take the right method of examining themſelves as they ſhould do. It is with the paſſions in men as it is with colours in cloth: it is eaſy to know a red, a green, a blue, a yellow, a black, *&c.* in as many different places; but it muſt be an artiſt that can unravel all the various colours and their proportions, that make up the compound of a well-mix'd cloth. In the ſame manner may the paſſions be diſcovered by every body whilſt they are diſtinct, and a ſingle one employs the whole man; but it is very difficult to trace every motive of thoſe actions that are the reſult of a mixture of paſſions.

(F.) *And virtue, who from politics*
Had learn'd a thouſand cunning tricks,
Was, by their happy influence,
Made friends with vice.———

Page 5. Line 31.

IT may be ſaid, that virtue is made friends with vice, when induſtrious good people, who maintain their families and bring up their children handſomely, pay taxes, and are ſeveral ways uſeful members of the ſociety, get a livelihood by ſomething that chiefly depends on, or is very much influenced by the vices of others, without being themſelves guilty of, or acceſſary to them, any otherways than by way of trade, as a druggiſt may be to poiſoning, or a ſword-cutler to blood-ſhed.

Thus the merchant, that ſends corn or cloth into foreign parts to purchaſe wines and brandies, encourages the growth or manufactory of his own country; he is a benefactor to navigation, encreaſes the cuſtoms, and is many ways beneficial to the public; yet it is not to be denied but that his greateſt dependence is laviſhneſs and drunkenneſs: for if none were to drink wine but ſuch only as ſtand in need of it, nor any body more than his health required, that multitude of wine-merchants, vintners, coopers, *&c.* that make ſuch a conſiderable ſhew in this flouriſhing city, would be in a miſerable condition. The ſame may be ſaid not only of card and dice-makers, that are the immediate miniſters to a legion of vices; but of mercers

cers, upholsterers, taylors, and many others, that would be starv'd in half a year's time, if pride and luxury were at once to be banish'd the nation.

(G.) *The worst of all the multitude*
Did something for the common good.

Page 5. Line 35.

THIS I know will seem to be a strange paradox to many; and I shall be asked what benefit the public receives from thieves and housebreakers. They are, I own, very pernicious to human society, and every government ought to take all imaginable care to root out and destroy them; yet if all people were strictly honest, and no body would meddle with or pry into any thing but his own, half the smiths of the nation would want employment; and abundance of workmanship, which now serves for ornament as well as defence, is to be seen every where both in town and country, that would never have been thought of, but to secure us against the attempts of pilferers and robbers.

If what I have said be thought far fetch'd, and my assertion seems still a paradox, I desire the reader to look upon the consumption of things, and he'll find that the lazyest and most unactive, the profligate and most mischievous are all forced to do something for the common good; and whilst their mouths are not sew'd up, and they continue to wear and otherwise destroy what the industrious are daily

daily employed about to make, fetch and procure, in ſpight of their teeth oblig'd to help and maintain the poor and the public charges. The labour of millions would ſoon be at an end, if there were not other millions, as I ſay in the fable,

——————Employ'd
To ſee their handy-works deſtroy'd.

But men are not to be judg'd by the conſequences that may ſucceed their actions, but the facts themſelves, and the motives which it ſhall appear they acted from. If an ill-natur'd miſer, who is almoſt a plumb, and ſpends but fifty pounds a year, tho' he has no relation to inherit his wealth, ſhould be robbed of five hundred or a thouſand guineas, it is certain that as ſoon as this money ſhould come to circulate, the nation would be the better for the robbery, and receive the ſame and as real a benefit from it, as if an archbiſhop had left the ſame ſum to the public; yet juſtice and the peace of the ſociety require that he or they who rob'd the miſer ſhould be hanged, tho' there were half a dozen of them concerned.

Thieves and pick-pockets ſteal for a livelihood, and either what they can get honeſtly is not ſufficient to keep them, or elſe they have an averſion to conſtant working: they want to gratify their ſenſes, have victuals, ſtrong drink, lewd women, and to be idle when they pleaſe. The victualler who entertains them and takes their money, knowing which way they came at it, is very near as great a villain as his gueſts. But if he fleeces them well, minds his buſineſs, and is a prudent man, he may get money and be punctual with them he deals with: the truſty out-clerk, whoſe chief aim is his maſter's profit, ſends him in what beer he wants, and takes care not to loſe his cuſtom; whilſt the man's money

ney is good, he thinks it no buſineſs of his to examine whom he gets it by. In the mean time the wealthy brewer, who leaves all the management to his ſervants, knows nothing of the matter, but keeps his coach, treats his friends, and enjoys his pleaſure with eaſe and a good conſcience; he gets an eſtate, builds houſes, and educates his children in plenty, without ever thinking on the labour which wretches perform, the ſhifts fools make, and the tricks knaves play to come at the commodity by the vaſt ſale of which he amaſſes his great riches.

A highwayman having met with a conſiderable booty, gives a poor common harlot he fancies ten pounds to new-rig her from top to toe; is there a ſpruce mercer ſo conſcientious that he will refuſe to ſell her a thread ſattin, tho' he knew who ſhe was? She muſt have ſhoes and ſtockings, gloves; the ſtay and manteau maker, the ſempſtreſs, the linen-draper, all muſt get ſomething by her, and a hundred different tradeſmen dependent on thoſe ſhe laid her money out with, may touch part of it before a month is at an end. The generous gentleman in the mean time, his money being near ſpent, ventur'd again on the road, but the ſecond day having committed a robbery near Highgate, he was taken with one of his accomplices, and the next ſeſſions both were condemned, and ſuffered the law. The money due on their conviction fell to three country fellows, on whom it was admirably well beſtowed. One was an honeſt farmer, a ſober pains-taking man, but reduced by misfortunes: the ſummer before by the mortality among the cattle he had loſt ſix cows out of ten, and now his landlord, to whom he owed thirty pounds, had ſeized on all his ſtock. The other was a day-labourer, who ſtruggled hard with the world, had a ſick

ſick wife at home, and ſeveral ſmall children to provide for. The third was a gentleman's gardener, who maintained his father in priſon, where, being bound for a neighbour, he had lain, for twelve pounds, almoſt a year and a half; this act of filial duty was the more meritorious, becauſe he had for ſome time been engaged to a young woman whoſe parents lived in good circumſtances, but would not give their conſent before our gardener had fifty guineas of his own to ſhew. They received above four ſcore pounds each, which extricated every one of them out of the difficulties they laboured under, and made them in their opinion the happieſt people in the world.

Nothing is more deſtructive, either in regard to the health, or the vigilance and induſtry of the poor, than the infamous liquor, the name of which derived from Juniper in Dutch, is now by frequent uſe, and the Laconic ſpirit of the nation, from a word of middling length ſhrunk into a monoſyllable, intoxicating Gin, that charms the unactive, the deſperate and crazy of either ſex, and makes the ſtarving ſot behold his rags and nakedneſs with ſtupid indolence, or banter both in ſenſeleſs laughter, and more inſipid jeſts; it is a fiery lake that ſets the brain in flame, burns up the entrails, and ſcorches every part within; and at the ſame time a Lethe of oblivion, in which the wretch immers'd drowns his moſt pinching cares, and with his reaſon all anxious reflexion on brats that cry for food, hard winters, froſts and horrid empty home.

In hot and aduſt tempers it makes men quarrelſome, renders them brutes and ſavages, ſets them on to fight for nothing, and has often been the cauſe of murder. It has broke and deſtroyed the ſtrongeſt conſtitutions, thrown 'em into conſumptions,

tions, and been the fatal and immediate occasion of apoplexies, phrensies and sudden death. But as these latter mischiefs happen but seldom, they might be overlook'd and conniv'd at, but this cannot be said of the many diseases that are familiar to the liquor, and which are daily and hourly produced by it; such as loss of appetite, fevers, black and yellow jaundice, convulsions, stone and gravel, dropsies and leucophlegmacies.

Among the doating admirers of this liquid poison, many of the meanest rank, from a sincere affection to the commodity itself, become dealers in it, and take delight to help others to what they love themselves, as whores commence bawds to make the profits of one trade subservient to the pleasures of the other. But as these starvelings commonly drink more than their gains, they seldom by selling mend the wretchedness of condition they laboured under whilst they were only buyers. In the fag-end and out-skirts of the town, and all places of the vilest resort, it is sold in some part or other of almost every house, frequently in cellars, and sometimes in the garret. The petty traders in this Stygian comfort are supplied by others in somewhat higher station, that keep profess'd brandy shops, and are as little to be envied as the former; and among the middling people, I know not a more miserable shift for a livelihood than their calling; whoever would thrive in it, must in the first place be of a watchful and suspicious, as well as a bold and resolute temper, that he may not be imposed upon by cheats and sharpers, nor out-bully'd by the oaths and imprecations of hackney-coachmen and foot soldiers; in the second, he ought to be a dabster at gross jokes and loud laughter, and have all the winning ways to allure

allure customers and draw out their money, and be well vers'd in the low jests and railleries the mob make use of to banter prudence and frugality. He must be affable and obsequious to the most despicable; always ready and officious to help a porter down with his load, shake hands with a basket-woman, pull off his hat to an oyster wench, and be familiar with a beggar; with patience and good humour he must be able to endure the filthy actions and viler language of nasty drabs, and the lewdest rake-hells, and without a frown or the least aversion bear with all the stench and squalor, noise and impertinence that the utmost indigence, laziness and ebriety can produce in the most shameless and abandon'd vulgar.

The vast number of the shops I speak of throughout the city and suburbs, are an astonishing evidence of the many seducers that, in a lawful occupation, are accessary to the introduction and increase of all the sloth, sottishness, want and misery which the abuse of strong waters is the immediate cause of, to lift above mediocrity perhaps half a score men that deal in the same commodity by wholesale; whilst among the retailers, tho' qualified as I required, a much greater number are broke and ruined, for not abstaining from the Circean cup they hold out to others; and the more fortunate are their whole lifetime obliged to take the uncommon pains, endure the hardships, and swallow all the ungrateful and shocking things I named, for little or nothing beyond a bare sustenance, and their daily bread.

The short-sighted vulgar in the chain of causes seldom can see further than one link; but those who can enlarge their view, and will give themselves the leisure of gazing on the prospect of con-

catenated events, may, in a hundred places, see good spring up and pullulate from evil, as naturally as chickens do from eggs. The money that arises from the duties upon malt is a considerable part of the national revenue, and should no spirits be distilled from it, the public treasure would prodigiously suffer on that head. But if we would set in a true light the many advantages, and large catalogue of solid blessings that accrue from, and are owing to the evil I treat of, we are to consider the rents that are received, the ground that is tilled, the tools that are made, the cattle that are employ'd, and above all the multitude of poor that are maintain'd, by the variety of labour required in husbandry, in malting, in carriage and distillation, before we can have the product of malt, which we call low wines, and is but the beginning from which the various spirits are afterwards to be made.

Besides this, a sharp-sighted good humour'd man might pick up abundance of good from the rubbish which I have all flung away for evil. He would tell me, that whatever sloth and sottishness might be occasioned by the abuse of malt-spirits, the moderate use of it was of inestimable benefit to the poor, who could purchase no cordials of higher prices; that it was an universal comfort, not only in cold and weariness, but most of the afflictions that are peculiar to the necessitous, and had often to the most destitute supplied the places of meat, drink, clothes and lodging: that the stupid indolence in the most wretched condition occasioned by those composing draughts, which I complained of, was a blessing to thousands, for that certainly those were the happiest, who felt the least pain. As to diseases, he would say, that, as it caused some

some, so it cured others, and that if the excess in those liquors had been sudden death to some few, the habit of drinking them daily prolonged the lives of many, whom once it agreed with; that for the loss sustained from the insignificant quarrels it created at home, we were overpaid in the advantage we received from it abroad, by upholding the courage of soldiers, and animating the sailors to the combat; and that in the two last wars no considerable victory had been obtain'd without it.

To the dismal account I have given of the retailers, and what they are forced to submit to, he would answer, that not many acquired more than middling riches in any trade, and that what I had counted so offensive and intolerable in the calling was trifling to those who were used to it; that what seem'd irksome and calamitous to some, was delightful and often ravishing to others; as men differed in circumstances and education. He would put me in mind, that the profit of an employment ever made amends for the toil and labour that belonged to it, nor forget, *dulcis odor lucri e re qualibet;* or to tell me, that the smell of gain was fragrant even to night-workers.

If I should ever urge to him, that to have here and there one great and eminent distiller was a poor equivalent for the vile means, the certain want, and lasting misery of so many thousand wretches, as were necessary to raise them; he would answer, that of this I could be no judge, because I don't know what vast benefit they might afterwards be of to the common-wealth. Perhaps, would he say, the man thus rais'd will exert himself in the commission of the peace, or other station, with vigilance and zeal against the dissolute and disaffected, and, retaining his stirring temper, be as in-

illustrious in spreading loyalty, and the reformation of manners throughout every cranny of the wide populous town, as once he was in filling it with spirits; till he becomes at last the scourge of whores, of vagabonds and beggars, the terrour of rioters and discontented rabbles, and constant plague to sabbath-breaking butchers. Here my good-humour'd antagonist would exult and triumph over me, especially if he could instance to me such a bright example. What an uncommon blessing, would he cry out, is this man to his country! how shining and illustrious his virtue!

To justify his exclamation he would demonstrate to me, that it was impossible to give a fuller evidence of self-denial in a grateful mind, than to see him at the expence of his quiet, and hazard of his life and limbs, be always harrassing, and even for trifles persecuting that very class of men to whom he owes his fortune, from no other motive than his aversion to idleness, and great concern for religion and the public welfare.

(H.) *Parties directly opposite, Assist each other, as 'twere for spight.*

Page 6. Line 5.

NOthing was more instrumental in forwarding the reformation, than the sloth and stupidity of the Roman clergy; yet the same reformation has rous'd them from the laziness and ignorance they then labour'd under; and the follow-

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ers of Luther, Calvin and others, may be said to have reformed not only those whom they drew in to their sentiments, but likewise those who remain'd their greatest oppofors. The clergy of England by being severe upon the schismatics, and upbraiding them with want of learning, have raised themselves such formidable enemies as are not easily answer'd; and again, the dissenters by prying into the lives, and diligently watching all the actions of their powerful antagonists, render those of the establish'd church more cautious of giving offence, than in all probability they would, if they had no malicious over-lookers to fear. It is very much owing to the great number of Huguenots that have always been in France, since the late utter extirpation of them, that that kingdom has a less dissolute and more learned clergy to boast of than any other Roman Catholic country. The clergy of that church are no where more sovereign than in Italy, and therefore no where more debauched; nor any where more ignorant than they are in Spain, because their doctrine is no where less oppos'd.

Who would imagine, that virtuous women, unknowingly, should be instrumental in promoting the advantage of prostitutes? or (what still seems the greater paradox) that incontinence should be made serviceable to the preservation of chastity? and yet nothing is more true. A vicious young fellow, after having been an hour or two at church, a ball, or any other assembly, where there is a great parcel of handsome women dress'd to the best advantage, will have his imagination more fired than if he had the same time been poling on Guildhall, or walking in the country among a flock of sheep. The consequence of this is, that he'll strive to satisfy the appetite that is raised in him;

and when he finds honeſt women obſtinate and uncomateable, 'tis very natural to think, that he'll haſten to others that are more compliable. Who would ſo much as ſurmiſe, that this is the fault of the virtuous women? They have no thoughts of men in dreſſing themſelves, poor ſouls, and endeavour only to appear clean and decent, every one according to her quality.

I am far from encouraging vice, and think it would be an unſpeakable felicity to a ſtate, if the ſin of uncleanneſs could be utterly baniſh'd from it; but I am afraid it is impoſſible: the paſſions of ſome people are too violent to be curb'd by any law or precept; and it is wiſdom in all governments to bear with leſſer inconveniencies to prevent greater. If courtezans and ſtrumpets were to be proſecuted with as much rigour as ſome ſilly people would have it, what locks or bars would be ſufficient to preſerve the honour of our wives and daughters? for 'tis not only that the women in general would meet with far greater temptations, and the attempts to enſnare the innocence of virgins would ſeem more excuſable even to the ſober part of mankind than they do now; but ſome men would grow outrageous, and raviſhing would become a common crime. Where ſix or ſeven thouſand ſailors arrive at once, as it often happens at Amſterdam, that have ſeen none but their own ſex for many months together, how is it to be ſuppos'd that honeſt women ſhould walk the ſtreets unmoleſted, if there were no harlots to be had at reaſonable prices? for which reaſon the wiſe rulers of that well-order'd city always tolerate an uncertain number of houſes, in which women are hired as publickly as horſes at a livery ſtable; and there being in this toleration a great deal of prudence

ſence and œconomy to be ſeen, a ſhort account of it will be no tireſome digreſſion.

In the firſt place, the houſes I ſpeak of are allowed to be no where but in the moſt ſlovenly and unpoliſhed part of the town, where ſeamen and ſtrangers of no repute chiefly lodge and reſort. The ſtreet in which moſt of them ſtand is counted ſcandalous, and the infamy is extended to all the neighbourhood round it. In the ſecond, they are only places to meet and bargain in, to make appointments, in order to promote interviews of greater ſecrecy, and no manner of lewdneſs is ever ſuffered to be tranſacted in them; which order is ſo ſtrictly obſerved that, bar the ill manners and noiſe of the company that frequent them, you'll meet with no more indecency, and generally leſs laſciviouſneſs there, than with us are to be ſeen at a playhouſe. Thirdly, the female traders that come to theſe evening exchanges are always the ſcum of the people, and generally ſuch as in the day time carry fruit and other eatables about in wheel-barrows. The habits indeed they appear in at night are very different from their ordinary ones; yet they are commonly ſo ridiculouſly gay, that they look more like the Roman dreſſes of ſtrolling actreſſes than gentlewomens clothes: if to this you add the aukwardneſs, the hard hands, and coarſe breeding of the damſels that wear them, there is no great reaſon to fear, that many of the better ſort of people will be tempted by them.

The muſic in theſe temples of Venus is performed by organs, not out of reſpect to the deity that is worſhipped in them, but the frugality of the owners, whoſe buſineſs it is to procure as much ſound for as little money as they can, and the policy of the government, who endeavour as little-

as is possible to encourage the breed of pipers and scrapers. All sea-faring men, especially the Dutch, are like the element they belong to, much given to loudness and roaring, and the noise of half a dozen of them, when they call themselves merry, is sufficient to drown twice the number of flutes or violins; whereas with one pair of organs they can make the whole house ring, and are at no other charge than the keeping of one scurvy musician, which can cost them but little; yet notwithstanding the good rules and strict discipline that are observ'd in the markets of love, the Schout and his officers are always vexing, mulcting, and, upon the least complaint, removing the miserable keepers of them: which policy is of two great uses. First, it gives an opportunity to a large parcel of officers the magistrates make use of on many occasions, and which they could not be without, to squeeze a living out of the immoderate gains accruing from the worst of employments, and at the same time punish those necessary profligates the bawds and panders, which, tho' they abominate, they desire yet not wholly to destroy. Secondly, as on several accounts it might be dangerous to let the multitude into the secret, that those houses, and the trade that is drove in them, are connived at, so by this means appearing unblameable, the wary magistrates preserve themselves in the good opinion of the weaker sort of people, who imagine that the government is always endeavouring, tho' unable, to suppress what it actually tolerates: whereas if they had a mind to root them out, their power in the administration of justice is so sovereign and extensive, and they know so well how to have it executed, that one week, nay one night, might send them all a packing.

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In Italy the toleration of ſtrumpets is yet more barefac'd, as is evident from their public ſtews. At Venice and Naples impurity is a kind of merchandice and traffic; the Courtezans at Rome, and the Cantoneras in Spain, compoſe a body in the ſtate, and are under a legal tax and impoſt. 'Tis well known, that the reaſon why ſo many good politicians as theſe tolerate lewd houſes, is not their irreligion, but to prevent a worſe evil, an impurity of a more execrable kind, and to provide for the ſafety of women of honour. "About two hundred and fifty years ago, ſays Monſieur de St. "Didier, Venice being in want of courtezans, the "republic was obliged to procure a great num-"ber from foreign parts." Doglioni, who has written the memorable affairs of Venice, highly extols the wiſdom of the republic in this point, which ſecured the chaſtity of women of honour, daily expoſed to public violences, the churches and conſecrated places not being a ſufficient *azylum* for their chaſtity.

Our univerſities in England are much bely'd if in ſome colleges there was not a monthly allowance *ad expurgandos renes:* and time was when the monks and prieſts in Germany were allowed concubines on paying a certain yearly duty to their prelate. "'Tis generally believed, ſays Monſieur "Bayle (to whom I owe the laſt paragraph), that "avarice was the cauſe of this ſhameful indul-"gence; but it is more probable their deſign was "to prevent their tempting modeſt women, and to "quiet the uneaſineſs of huſbands, whoſe reſent-"ments the clergy do well to avoid." From what has been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that there is a neceſſity of ſacrificing one part of womankind to preſerve the other, and prevent a filthineſs of a

more heinous nature. From whence I think I may justly conclude (what was the seeming paradox I went about to prove) that chastity may be supported by incontinence, and the best of virtues want the assistance of the worst of vices.

(I.) *The root of evil, avarice,*
That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful vice,
Was slave to prodigality.

Page 6. Line 11.

I Have joined so many odious epithets to the word Avarice, in compliance to the vogue of mankind, who generally bestow more ill language upon this than upon any other vice; and indeed not undeservedly; for there is hardly a mischief to be named which it has not produced at one time or other: but the true reason why every body exclaims so much against it is, that almost every body suffers by it; for the more the money is hoarded up by some, the scarcer it must grow among the rest, and therefore when men rail very much at misers, there is generally self-interest at bottom.

As there is no living without money, so those that are unprovided, and have no body to give them any, are obliged to do some service or other to the society before they can come at it; but every body esteeming his labour as he does himself, which is generally not under the value, most people that want money only to spend it again presently, imagine they do more for it than it is worth. Men

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can't forbear looking upon the neceſſaries of life as their due, whether they work or not; becauſe they find that nature, without conſulting whether they have victuals or not, bids them eat whenever they are hungry; for which reaſon every body endeavours to get what he wants with as much eaſe as he can; and therefore when men find that the trouble they are put to in getting money is either more or leſs, according as thoſe they would have it from are more or leſs tenacious, it is very natural for them to be angry at covetouſneſs in general; for it obliges them either to go without what they have occaſion for, or elſe to take greater pains for it than they are willing.

Avarice, notwithſtanding it is the occaſion of ſo many evils, is yet very neceſſary to the ſociety, to glean and gather what has been dropt and ſcatter'd by the contrary vice. Was it not for avarice, ſpendthrifts would ſoon want materials; and if none would lay up and get faſter than they ſpend, very few could ſpend faſter than they get. That it is a ſlave to prodigality, as I have call'd it, is evident from ſo many miſers as we daily ſee toil and labour, pinch and ſtarve themſelves to enrich a laviſh heir. Tho' theſe two vices appear very oppoſite, yet they often aſſiſt each other. Florio is an extravagant young blade, of a very profuſe temper; as he is the only ſon of a very rich father, he wants to live high, keep horſes and dogs, and throw his money about, as he ſees ſome of his companions do; but the old hunks will part with no money, and hardly allows him neceſſaries. Florio would have borrow'd money upon his own credit long ago; but as all would be loſt, if he died before his father, no prudent man would lend him any. At laſt he has met with the greedy Cor-

naro, who lets him have money at thirty *per cent.* and now Florio thinks himself happy, and spends a thousand a year. Where would Cornaro ever have got such a prodigious interest; if it was not for such a fool as Florio, who will give so great a price for money to fling it away; And how could Florio get it to spend, if he had not hit on such a greedy usurer as Cornaro, whose excessive covetousness makes him overlook the great risque he runs in venturing such great sums upon the life of a wild debauchee.

Avarice is no longer the reverse of profuseness, than whilst it signifies that sordid love of money, and narrowness of soul that hinders misers from parting with what they have, and makes them covet it only to hoard up. But there is a sort of avarice which consists in a greedy desire of riches, in order to spend them, and this often meets with prodigality in the same persons, as is evident in most courtiers, and great officers, both civil and military. In their buildings and furniture, equipages and entertainments, their gallantry is displayed with the greatest profusion; whilst the base actions they submit to for lucre, and the many frauds and impositions they are guilty of, discover the utmost avarice. This mixture of contrary vices comes up exactly to the character of Cataline, of whom it is said, that he was *appetens alieni, & fui profusus*, greedy after the goods of others, and lavish of his own.

(K.) That noble Sin.

Page 6. Line 12.

THE prodigality I call a noble ſin, is not that which has avarice for its companion, and makes men unreaſonably profuſe to ſome, of what they unjuſtly extort from others, but that agreeable good-natur'd vice that makes the chimney ſmoke, and all the tradeſmen ſmile; I mean, the unmixed prodigality of heedleſs and voluptuous men that, being educated in plenty, abhor the vile thoughts of lucre, and laviſh away only what others took pains to ſcrape together; ſuch as indulge their inclinations at their own expence, that have the continual ſatisfaction of bartering old gold for new pleaſures, and from the exceſſive largeneſs of a diffuſive ſoul, are made guilty of deſpiſing too much what moſt people over-value.

When I ſpeak thus honourably of this vice, and treat it with ſo much tenderneſs and good manners as I do, I have the ſame thing at heart that made me give ſo many ill names to the reverſe of it, viz. the intereſt of the public; for as the avaricious does no good to himſelf, and is injurious to all the world beſides, except his heir, ſo the prodigal is a bleſſing to the whole ſociety, and injures no body but himſelf. It is true, that as moſt of the firſt are knaves, ſo the latter are all fools; yet they are delicious morſels for the public to feaſt on, and may, with as much juſtice

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as the French call the monks the partridges of the women, be ſtiled the woodcocks of the ſociety. Was it not for prodigality, nothing could make us amends for the rapine and extortion of avarice in power. When a covetous ſtateſman is gone, who ſpent his whole life in fat'ning himſelf with the ſpoils of the nation, and had, by pinching and plundering, heap'd up an immenſe treaſure, it ought to fill every good member of the ſociety with joy, to behold the uncommon profuſeneſs of his ſon. This is refounding to the public what was robb'd from it. Reſuming of grants is a barbarous way of ſtripping, and it is ignoble to ruin a man faſter than he does it himſelf, when he ſets about it in ſuch good earneſt. Does he not feed an infinite number of dogs of all ſorts and ſizes, tho' he never hunts; keep more horſes than any nobleman in the kingdom, tho' he never rides 'em; and give as large an allowance to an ill-favour'd whore as would keep a dutcheſs, tho' he never lyes with her? Is he not ſtill more extravagant in thoſe things he makes uſe of? Therefore let him alone, or praiſe him, call him public-ſpirited Lord, nobly bountiful, and magnificently generous, and, in a few years, he'll ſuffer himſelf to be ſtript his own way. As long as the nation has its own back again, we ought not to quarrel with the manner in which the plunder is repaid.

Abundance of moderate men, I know, that are enemies to extremes, will tell me, that frugality might happly ſupply the place of the two vices I ſpeak of; that, if men had not ſo many profuſe ways of ſpending wealth, they would not be tempted to ſo many evil practices to ſcrape it together; and conſequently that the ſame number of men, by equally avoiding both extremes, might render themſelves

themſelves more happy, and be leſs vicious without, than they could with them. Whoever argues thus, ſhews himſelf a better man than he is a politician. Frugality is like honeſty, a mean ſtarving virtue, that is only fit for ſmall ſocieties of good peaceable men, who are contented to be poor ſo they may be eaſy; but in a large ſtirring nation you may have ſoon enough of it. 'Tis an idle dreaming virtue that employs no hands, and therefore very uſeleſs in a trading country, where there are vaſt numbers that one way or other muſt be all ſet to work. Prodigality has a thouſand inventions to keep people from ſitting ſtill, that frugality would never think of; and as this muſt conſume a prodigious wealth, ſo avarice again knows innumerable tricks to rake it together, which frugality would ſcorn to make uſe of.

Authors are always allowed to compare ſmall things to great ones, eſpecially if they aſk leave firſt: *Si licet exemplis*, &c. But to compare great things to mean trivial ones is inſufferable, unleſs it be in burleſque; otherwiſe I would compare the body politic (I confeſs the ſimile is very low) to a bowl of punch. Avarice ſhould be the ſow'ring, and prodigality the ſweetning of it. The water I could call the ignorance, folly and credulity of the floating inſipid multitude; whilſt wiſdom, honour, fortitude, and the reſt of the ſublime qualities of men, which, ſeparated by art from the dregs of nature, the fire of glory has exalted and refined into a ſpiritual eſſence, ſhould be an equivalent to brandy. I don't doubt but a Weſtphalian, Laplander, or any other dull ſtranger that is unacquainted with the wholſome compoſition, if he was to taſte the ſeveral ingredients apart,

apart, would think it impossible they should make any tolerable liquor. The lemons would be too soure, the sugar too luscious, the brandy, he'll say, is too strong ever to be drank in any quantity, and the water he'll call a tastless liquor, only fit for cows and horses: yet experience teaches us, that the ingredients I named, judiciously mixt, will make an excellent liquor, lik'd of and admir'd by men of exquisite palates.

As to our own vices in particular, I could compare avarice that causes so much mischief, and is complain'd of by every body who is not a miser, to a gripping acid that sets our teeth on edge, and is unpleasant to every palate that is not debauch'd: I could compare the gaudy trimming and splendid equipage of a profuse beau, to the glistning brightness of the finest loaf sugar; for as the one by correcting the sharpness prevents the injuries which a gnawing sowre might do to the bowels, so the other is a pleasing balsam that heals and makes amends for the smart, which the multitude always suffers from the gripes of the avaricious; whilst the substances of both melt away alike, and they consume themselves by being beneficial to the several compositions they belong to: I could carry on the simile as to proportions, and the exact nicety to be observed in them, which would make it appear how little any of the ingredients could be spared in either of the mixtures. But I will not tire my reader by pursuing too far a ludicrous comparison, when I have other matters to entertain him with of greater importance; and to sum up what I have said in this, and the foregoing remark, shall only add, that I look upon avarice and prodigality in the society, as I do upon two contrary poisons in physic, of which it

it is certain, that the noxious qualities being by mutual mischief corrected in both, they may assist each other, and often make a good medicine between them.

(L.) ——————*Whilst luxury*
Employ'd a million of the poor, &c.

Page 6. Line 12.

IF every thing is to be luxury, as in strictness it ought, that is not immediately necessary to make man subsist as he is a living creature, there is nothing else to be found in the world, no not even among the naked savages; of which it is not probable that there are any but what by this time have made some improvements upon their former manner of living; and either in the preparation of their eatables, the ordering of their huts, or otherwise, added something to what once sufficed them. This definition, every body will say, is too rigorous; I am of the same opinion; but if we are to abate one inch of this severity, I am afraid we shan't know where to stop. When people tell us, they only desire to keep themselves sweet and clean, there is no understanding what they would be at; if they made use of these words in their genuine proper literal sense, they might soon be satisfied without much cost or trouble, if they did not want water: but these two little adjectives are so comprehensive, especially in the dialect of some ladies, that no body can guess how far they may be

be ſtretcht. The comforts of life are likewiſe ſo various and extenſive, that no body can tell what people mean by them, except he knows what ſort of life they lead. The ſame obſcurity I obſerve in the words decency and conveniency, and I never underſtand them, unleſs I am acquainted with the quality of the perſons that make uſe of them. People may go to church together, and be all of one mind as much as they pleaſe, I am apt to believe that when they pray for their daily bread, the biſhop includes ſeveral things in that petition which the ſexton does not think on.

By what I have ſaid hitherto, I would only ſhew, that if once we depart from calling every thing luxury, that is not abſolutely neceſſary to keep a man alive, that then there is no luxury at all; for if the wants of men are innumerable, then what ought to ſupply them has no bounds; what is called ſuperfluous to ſome degree of people, will be thought requiſite to thoſe of higher quality; and neither the world nor the ſkill of man can produce any thing ſo curious or extravagant, but ſome moſt gracious ſovereign or other, if it either eaſes or diverts him, will reckon it among the neceſſaries of life; not meaning every body's life but that of his ſacred perſon.

It is a received notion, that luxury is as deſtructive to the wealth of the whole body politic, as it is to that of every individual perſon who is guilty of it, and that a national frugality enriches a country in the ſame manner as that which is leſs general increaſes the eſtates of private families. I confeſs, that tho' I have found men of much better underſtanding than myſelf of this opinion, I cannot help diſſenting from them in this point. They

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argue thus: we ſend, ſay they, for example, to Turkey of woollen manufactory, and other things of our own growth, a million's worth every year; for this we bring back ſilk, mohair, drugs, &c. to the value of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, that are all ſpent in our own country. By this, ſay they, we get nothing; but if moſt of us would be content with our own growth, and ſo conſume but half the quantity of thoſe foreign commodities, then thoſe in Turkey, who would ſtill want the ſame quantity of our manufactures, would be forced to pay ready money for the reſt, and ſo by the balance of that trade only the nation ſhould get ſix hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*.

To examine the force of this argument, we'll ſuppoſe (what they would have) that but half the ſilk, &c. ſhall be conſumed in England of what there is now; we'll ſuppoſe likewiſe, that thoſe in Turkey, tho' we refuſe to buy above half as much of their commodities as we uſed to do, either can or will not be without the ſame quantity of our manufactures they had before, and that they'll pay the balance in money; that is to ſay, that they ſhall give us as much gold or ſilver as the value of what they buy from us exceeds the value of what we buy from them. Tho' what we ſuppoſe might perhaps be done for one year, it is impoſſible it ſhould laſt: buying is bartering, and no nation can buy goods of others that has none of her own to purchaſe them with. Spain and Portugal, that are yearly ſupplied with new gold and ſilver from their mines, may for ever buy for ready money as long as their yearly increaſe of gold or ſilver continues, but then money is their growth and the commodity of the country. We know that we could not

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continue long to purchaſe the goods of other nations, if they would not take our manufactures in payment for them; and why ſhould we judge otherwiſe of other nations? If thoſe in Turkey then had no more money fall from the ſkies than we, let us ſee what would be the conſequence of what we ſuppoſed. The ſix hundred thouſand pounds in ſilk, mohair, &c. that are left upon their hands the firſt year, muſt make thoſe commodities fall conſiderably: of this the Dutch and French will reap the benefit as much as ourſelves; and if we continue to refuſe taking their commodities in payment for our manufactures, they can trade no longer with us, but muſt content themſelves with buying what they want of ſuch nations as are willing to take what we refuſe, tho' their goods are much worſe than ours, and thus our commerce with Turkey muſt, in few years, be infallibly loſt.

But they'll ſay, perhaps, that to prevent the ill conſequence I have ſhewed, we ſhall take the Turkiſh merchandices as formerly, and only be ſo frugal as to conſume but half the quantity of them ourſelves, and ſend the reſt abroad to be ſold to others. Let us ſee what this will do, and whether it will enrich the nation by the balance of that trade with ſix hundred thouſand pounds. In the firſt place, I'll grant them that our people at home making uſe of ſo much more of our own manufactures, thoſe who were employed in ſilk, mohair, &c. will get a living by the various preparations of woollen goods. But in the ſecond, I cannot allow that the goods can be ſold as formerly; for ſuppoſe the half that is wore at home to be ſold at the ſame rate as before, certainly the other half that is ſent abroad will want very much of it: for we muſt ſend thoſe goods to markets

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already supplied; and besides that there must be freight, insurance, provision, and all other charges deducted, and the merchants in general must lose much more by this half that is re-shipp'd than they got by the half that is consumed here. For tho' the woollen manufactures are our own product, yet they stand the merchant that ships them off to foreign countries, in as much as they do the shop keeper here that retails them; so that if the returns for what he sends abroad repay him not what his goods cost him here, with all other charges, till he has the money and a good interest for it in cash, the merchant must run out, and the upshot would be, that the merchants in general, finding they lost by the Turkish commodities they sent abroad, would ship no more of our manufactures than what would pay for as much silk, mohair, *&c.* as would be consumed here. Other nations would soon find ways to supply them with as much as we should send short, and some where or other to dispose of the goods we should refuse: so that all we should get by this frugality, would be, that those in Turkey would take but half the quantity of our manufactures of what they do now, whilst we encourage and wear their merchandices, without which they are not able to purchase ours.

As I have had the mortification for several years to meet with abundance of sensible people against this opinion, and who always thought me wrong in this calculation, so I had the pleasure at last to see the wisdom of the nation fall into the same sentiments, as is so manifest from an act of parliament made in the year 1721, where the legislature disobliges a powerful and valuable company, and overlooks very weighty inconveniencies at home, to promote the interest of the Turkey trade

trade, and not only encourages the consumption of silk and mohair, but forces the subjects on penalties to make use of them whether they will or not.

What is laid to the charge of luxury besides is, that it encreases avarice and rapine: and where they are reigning vices, offices of the greatest trust are bought and sold; the ministers that should serve the public, both great and small, corrupted, and the countries every moment in danger of being betrayed to the highest bidders: and lastly, that it effeminates and enervates the people, by which the nations become an easy prey to the first invaders. These are indeed terrible things; but what is put to the account of luxury belongs to male-administration, and is the fault of bad politics. Every government ought to be thoroughly acquainted with, and stedfastly to pursue the interest of the country. Good politicians by dexterous management, laying heavy impositions on some goods, or totally prohibiting them, and lowering the duties on others, may always turn and divert the course of trade which way they please; and as they'll ever prefer, if it be equally considerable, the commerce with such countries as can pay with money as well as goods, to those that can make no returns for what they buy, but in the commodities of their own growth and manufactures, so they will always carefully prevent the traffique with such nations as refuse the goods of others, and will take nothing but money for their own. But above all, they'll keep a watchful eye over the balance of trade in general, and never suffer that all the foreign commodities together, that are imported in one year, shall exceed in value what of their own growth or manufacture is

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in the same exported to others. Note, that I speak now of the interest of those nations that have no gold or silver of their own growth, otherwise this maxim need not to be so much insisted on.

If what I urged last be but diligently looked after, and the imports are never allowed to be superior to the exports, no nation can ever be impoverished by foreign luxury; and they may improve it as much as they please, if they can but in proportion raise the fund of their own that is to purchase it.

Trade is the principal, but not the only requisite to aggrandize a nation: there are other things to be taken care of besides. The *meum* and *tuum* must be secured, crimes punished, and all other laws concerning the administration of justice wisely contrived and strictly executed. Foreign affairs must be likewise prudently managed, and the ministry of every nation ought to have a good intelligence abroad, and be well acquainted with the public transactions of all those countries, that either by their neighbourhood, strength, or interest, may be hurtful or beneficial to them, to take the necessary measures accordingly, of crossing some and assisting others, as policy and the balance of power direct. The multitude must be aw'd, no man's conscience forc'd, and the clergy allow'd no greater share in state affairs than our Saviour has bequeathed them in his testament. These are the arts that lead to worldly greatness; what sovereign power soever makes a good use of them, that has any considerable nation to govern, whether it be a monarchy, a commonwealth, or a mixture of both, can never fail of making it flourish in spight of all the other powers upon earth, and no luxury or other vice is ever

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able to shake their constitution.—But here I expect a full-mouth'd cry against me; What! has God never punish'd and destroy'd great nations for their sins? Yes, but not without means, by infatuating their governors, and suffering them to depart from either all, or some of those general maxims I have mentioned; and of all the famous states and empires the world has had to boast of hitherto, none ever came to ruin, whose destruction was not principally owing to the bad politics, neglects, or mismanagements of the rulers.

There is no doubt but more health and vigour is to be expected among a people, and their offspring, from temperance and sobriety, than there is from gluttony and drunkenness; yet I confess, that as to luxury's effeminating and enervating a nation, I have not such frightful notions now as I have had formerly. When we hear or read of things which we are altogether strangers to, they commonly bring to our imagination such ideas of what we have seen, as (according to our apprehension) must come the nearest to them: and I remember, that when I have read of the luxury of Persia, Egypt, and other countries where it has been a reigning vice, and that were effeminated and enervated by it, it has sometimes put me in mind of the cramming and swilling of ordinary tradesmen at a city feast, and the beastliness their over-gorging themselves is often attended with; at other times it has made me think on the distraction of dissolute sailors, as I had seen them in company of half a dozen lewd women roaring along with fiddles before them: and was I to have been carried into any of their great cities, I would have expected to have found one third of the people sick a-bed with surfeits; another laid up with the gout, or crip-

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pled by a more ignominious distemper; and the rest that could go without leading, walk along the streets in petticoats.

It is happy for us to have fear for a keeper, as long as our reason is not strong enough to govern our appetites: and I believe that the great dread I had more particularly against the word to Enervate, and some consequent thoughts on the etymology of it, did me abundance of good when I was a school-boy: but since I have seen something of the world, the consequences of luxury to a nation seem not so dreadful to me as they did. As long as men have the same appetites, the same vices will remain. In all large societies, some will love whoring and others drinking. The lustful that can get no handsome clean women, will content themselves with dirty drabs; and those that cannot purchase true Hermitage or Pontack, will be glad of more ordinary French claret. Those that cannot reach wine, take up with worse liquors, and a foot soldier or a beggar may make himself as drunk with stale-beer or malt-spirits, as a lord with Burgundy, Champaign or Tockay. The cheapest and most slovenly way of indulging our passions, does as much mischief to a man's constitution, as the most elegant and expensive.

The greatest excesses of luxury are shewn in buildings, furniture, equipages and clothes: clean linen weakens a man no more than flannel; tapestry, fine painting or good wainscot, are no more unwholsome than bare walls; and a rich couch, or a gilt chariot are no more enervating than the cold floor of a country cart. The refined pleasures of men of sense are seldom injurious to their constitution, and there are many great epicures that will refuse to eat or drink more than their heads

or ſtomachs can bear. Senſual people may take as great care of themſelves as any; and the errors of the moſt viciouſly luxurious don't ſo much conſiſt in the frequent repetitions of their lewdneſs, and their eating and drinking too much, (which are the things which would moſt enervate them) as they do in the operoſe contrivances, the profuſeneſs and nicety they are ſerved with, and the vaſt expence they are at in their tables and amours.

But let us once ſuppoſe that the eaſe and pleaſures the grandees and the rich people of every great nation live in, render them unfit to endure hardſhips, and undergo the toils of war. I'll allow that moſt of the common council of the city would make but very indifferent foot ſoldiers; and I believe heartily, that if your horſe was to be compos'd of aldermen, and ſuch as moſt of them are, a ſmall artillery of ſquibs would be ſufficient to rout them. But what have the aldermen, the common council, or indeed all people of any ſubſtance, to do with the war, but to pay taxes? The hardſhips and fatigues of war that are perſonally ſuffered, fall upon them that bear the brunt of every thing, the meaneſt indigent part of the nation, the working ſlaving people: for how exceſſive ſoever the plenty and luxury of a nation may be, ſome body muſt do the work; houſes and ſhips muſt be built, merchandiſes muſt be removed, and the ground till'd. Such a variety of labours in every great nation require a vaſt multitude, in which there are always looſe, idle, extravagant fellows enough to ſpare for an army; and thoſe that are robuſt enough to hedge and ditch, plow and thraſh, or elſe not too much enervated to be ſmiths, carpenters, ſawyers, cloth-workers, porters

ters or car-men, will always be ſtrong and hardy enough in a campaign or two to make good ſoldiers, who, where good orders are kept, have ſeldom ſo much plenty and ſuperfluity come to their ſhare as to do them any hurt.

The miſchief then to be fear'd from luxury among the people of war, cannot extend itſelf beyond the officers. The greateſt of them are either men of a very high birth and princely education, or elſe extraordinary parts, and no leſs experience; and whoever is made choice of by a wiſe government to command an army *en chef*, ſhould have a conſummate knowledge in martial affairs, intrepidity to keep him calm in the midſt of danger, and many other qualifications that muſt be the work of time and application, on men of a quick penetration, a diſtinguiſhed genius, and a world of honour. Strong ſinews and ſupple joints are trifling advantages not regarded in perſons of their reach and grandeur, that can deſtroy cities a-bed, and ruin whole countries whilſt they are at dinner. As they are moſt commonly men of great age, it would be ridiculous to expect a hail conſtitution and agility of limbs from them; ſo their heads be but active and well furniſhed, 'tis no great matter what the reſt of their bodies are. If they cannot bear the fatigue of being on horſe-back, they may ride in coaches, or be carried in litters. Men's conduct and ſagacity are never the leſs for their being cripples, and the beſt general the king of France has now can hardly crawl along. Thoſe that are immediately under the chief commanders muſt be very nigh of the ſame abilities, and are generally men that have rais'd themſelves to thoſe poſts by their merit. The other officers are all of them in their ſeveral ſtations obliged to lay out

so large a share of their pay in fine clothes, accoutrements, and other things by the luxury of the times call'd necessary, that they can spare but little money for debauches; for as they are advanced and their salaries raised, so they are likewise forced to encrease their expences and their equipages, which, as well as every thing else, must still be proportionable to their quality: by which means the greatest part of them are in a manner hindred from those excesses that might be destructive to health; whilst their luxury thus turned another way serves moreover to heighten their pride and vanity, the greatest motives to make them behave themselves like what they would be thought to be. [See remark (R).]

There is nothing refines mankind more than love and honour. Those two passions are equivalent to many virtues, and therefore the greatest schools of breeding and good manners are courts and armies; the first to accomplish the women, the other to polish the men. What the generality of officers among civilized nations affect is, a perfect knowledge of the world and the rules of honour; an air of frankness and humanity peculiar to military men of experience; and such a mixture of modesty and undauntedness, as may bespeak them both courteous and valiant. Where good sense is fashionable, and a genteel behaviour is in esteem, gluttony and drunkenness can be no reigning vices. What officers of distinction chiefly aim at, is not a beastly, but a splendid way of living, and the wishes of the most luxurious in their several degrees of quality, are to appear handsomely, and excel each other in finery of equipage, politeness of entertainments, and the reputation

putation of a judicious fancy in every thing about them.

But if there should be more dissolute reprobates among officers than there are among men of other professions, which is not true, yet the most debauched of them may be very serviceable, if they have but a great share of honour. It is this that covers and makes up for a multitude of defects in them, and it is this that none (how abandon'd soever they are to pleasure) dare pretend to be without. But as there is no argument so convincing as matter of fact, let us look back on what so lately happened in our two last wars with France. How many puny young striplings have we had in our armies, tenderly educated, nice in their dress, and curious in their diet, that underwent all manner of duties with gallantry and chearfulness?

Those that have such dismal apprehensions of luxury's enervating and effeminating people, might in Flanders and Spain have seen embroidered beaux with fine laced shirts, and powdered wigs, stand as much fire, and lead up to the mouth of a cannon, with as little concern as it was possible for the most stinking slovens to have done in their own hair, tho' it had not been comb'd in a month; and met with abundance of wild rakes, who had actually impair'd their healths, and broke their constitutions with excesses of wine and women, that yet behaved themselves with conduct and bravery against their enemies. Robustness is the least thing required in an officer; and if sometimes strength is of use, a firm resolution of mind, which the hopes of preferment, emulation, and the love of glory inspire them with, will at a push supply the place of bodily force.

Thoſe that underſtand their buſineſs, and have a ſufficient ſenſe of honour, as ſoon as they are uſed to danger will always be capable officers: and their luxury, as long as they ſpend no body's money but their own, will never be prejudicial to a nation.

By all which I think I have proved what I deſigned in this remark on luxury. Firſt, That in one ſenſe every thing may be called ſo, and in another there is no ſuch thing. Secondly, That with a wiſe adminiſtration all people may ſwim in as much foreign luxury as their product can purchaſe, without being impoveriſh'd by it. And laſtly, That where military affairs are taken care of as they ought, and the ſoldiers well paid and kept in good diſcipline, a wealthy nation may live in all the eaſe and plenty imaginable; and in many parts of it, ſhew as much pomp and delicacy, as human wit can invent, and at the ſame time be formidable to their neighbours, and come up to the character of the Bees in the Fable, of which I ſaid, That,

> Flatter'd in peace, and fear'd in wars,
> They were th' eſteem of foreigners,
> And laviſh of their wealth and lives,
> The balance of all other hives.

[See what is further ſaid concerning luxury in the Remarks (M) and (Q).]

(M.) And odious pride a million more.

Page 6. Line 14.

PRIDE is that natural faculty by which every mortal that has any understanding overvalues and imagines better things of himself than any impartial judge, throughly acquainted with all his qualities and circumstances, could allow him. We are possessed of no other quality so beneficial to society, and so necessary to render it wealthy and flourishing as this, yet it is that which is most generally detested. What is very peculiar to this faculty of ours, is, that those who are the fullest of it, are the least willing to connive at it in others; whereas the heinousness of other vices is the most extenuated by those who are guilty of 'em themselves. The chaste man hates fornication, and drunkenness is most abhorr'd by the temperate; but none are so much offended at their neighbour's pride, as the proudest of all; and if any one can pardon it, it is the most humble: from which I think we may justly infer, that it being odious to all the world, is a certain sign that all the world is troubled with it. This all men of sense are ready to confess, and no body denies but that he has pride in general: but, if you come to particulars, you'll meet with few that will own any action you can name of theirs to have proceeded from that principle. There are likewise many who will allow, that among the

ſinful nations of the times, pride and luxury are the great promoters of trade; but they refuſe to own the neceſſity there is, that in a more virtuous age, (ſuch an one as ſhould be free from pride) trade would in a great meaſure decay.

The Almighty, they ſay, has endow'd us with the dominion over all things which the earth and ſea produce or contain; there is nothing to be found in either, but what was made for the uſe of man; and his ſkill and induſtry above other animals were given him, that he might render both them and every thing elſe within the reach of his ſenſes, more ſerviceable to him. Upon this conſideration they think it impious to imagine, that humility, temperance, and other virtues, ſhould debar people from the enjoyment of thoſe comforts of life which are not denied to the moſt wicked nations: and ſo conclude, that without pride or luxury, the ſame things might be eat, wore and conſumed, the ſame number of handicrafts and artificers employed, and a nation be every way as flouriſhing, as where thoſe vices are the moſt predominant.

As to wearing apparel in particular, they'll tell you, that pride, which ſticks much nearer to us than our clothes, is only lodged in the heart, and that rags often conceal a greater portion of it than the moſt pompous attire; and that as it cannot be denied but that there have always been virtuous princes, who with humble hearts have wore their ſplendid diadems, and ſway'd their envied ſcepters, void of ambition, for the good of others; ſo it is very probable, that ſilver and gold brocades, and the richeſt embroideries, may, without a thought of pride, be wore by many whoſe quality and fortune are ſuitable to them. May not

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(ſay they) a good man of extraordinary revenues, make every year a greater variety of ſuits than it is poſſible he ſhould wear out, and yet have no other ends than to ſet the poor at work, to encourage trade, and by employing many to promote the welfare of his country? and conſidering food and raiment to be neceſſaries, and the two chief articles to which all our worldly cares are extended, why may not all mankind ſet aſide a conſiderable part of their income for the one as well as the other, without the leaſt tincture of pride? nay, is not every member of the ſociety in a manner obliged, according to his ability, to contribute toward the maintenance of that branch of trade, on which the whole has ſo great a dependence? beſides that, to appear decently is a civility, and often a duty, which, without any regard to ourſelves, we owe to thoſe we converſe with.

Theſe are the objections generally made uſe of by haughty moraliſts, who cannot endure to hear the dignity of their ſpecies arraign'd; but if we look narrowly into them they may ſoon be anſwered.

If we had no vices, I cannot ſee why any man ſhould ever make more ſuits than he has occaſion for, tho' he was never ſo deſirous of promoting the good of the nation: for tho' in the wearing of a well-wrought ſilk, rather than a ſlight ſtuff, and the preferring curious fine cloth to coarſe, he had no other view but the ſetting of more people to work, and conſequently the public welfare; yet he could conſider clothes no otherways than lovers of their country do taxes now; they may pay them with alacrity, but no body gives more than his due, eſpecially where all are juſtly rated

according to their abilities, as it could no otherways be expected in a very virtuous age. Besides that, in such golden times no body would dress above his condition, no body pinch his family, cheat or over-reach his neighbour, to purchase finery; and consequently there would not be half the consumption, nor a third part of the people employ'd as now there are. But to make this more plain, and demonstrate, that for the support of trade their can be nothing equivalent to pride, I shall examine the several views men have in outward apparel, and set forth what daily experience may teach every body as to dress.

Clothes were originally made for two ends, to hide our nakedness, and to fence our bodies against the weather, and other outward injuries: to these our boundless pride has added a third, which is ornament; for what else but an excess of stupid vanity, could have prevailed upon our reason to fancy that ornamental, which must continually put us in mind of our wants and misery, beyond all other animals that are ready clothed by nature herself? It is indeed to be admired how so sensible a creature as man, that pretends to so many fine qualities of his own, should condescend to value himself upon what is robb'd from so innocent and defenceless an animal as a sheep, or what he is beholden for to the most insignificant thing upon earth, a dying worm; yet whilst he is proud of such trifling depredations, he has the folly to laugh at the Hottentots on the furthest promontory of Afric, who adorn themselves with the guts of their dead enemies, without considering that they are the ensigns of their valour those Barbarians are fine with, the true *spolia opima*, and that if their pride be more savage than ours,

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it is certainly leſs ridiculous, becauſe they wear the ſpoils of the more noble animal.

But whatever reflexions may be made on this head, the world has long ſince decided the matter; handſome apparel is a main point, fine feathers make fine birds, and people where they are not known, are generally honoured according to their clothes and other accoutrements they have about them; from the richneſs of them we judge of their wealth, and by their ordering of them we gueſs at their underſtanding. It is this which encourages every body, who is conſcious of his little merit, if he is any-ways able, to wear clothes above his rank, eſpecially in large and populous cities, where obſcure men may hourly meet with fifty ſtrangers to one acquaintance, and conſequently have the pleaſure of being eſteem'd by a vaſt majority, not as what they are, but what they appear to be; which is a greater temptation, than moſt people want, to be vain.

Whoever takes delight in viewing the various ſcenes of low life, may on Eaſter, Whitſun, and other great holidays, meet with ſcores of people, eſpecially women, of almoſt the loweſt rank, that wear good and faſhionable clothes: if coming to talk with them, you treat them more courteouſly and with greater reſpect than what they are conſcious they deſerve, they'll commonly be aſham'd of owning what they are; and often you may, if you are a little inquiſitive, diſcover in them a moſt anxious care to conceal the buſineſs they follow, and the places they live in. The reaſon is plain; whilſt they receive thoſe civilities that are not uſually paid them, and which they think only due to their betters, they have the ſatisfaction to imagine, that they appear what they would be,

which to weak minds is a pleasure almost as substantial as they could reap from the very accomplishments of their wishes: this golden dream they are unwilling to be disturbed in; and being sure that the meanness of their condition, if it is known, must sink them very low in your opinion, they hug themselves in their disguise, and take all imaginable precaution, not to forfeit by an useless discovery the esteem which they flatter themselves that their good clothes have drawn from you.

Tho' every body allows, that as to apparel and manner of living, we ought to behave ourselves suitable to our conditions, and follow the examples of the most sensible and prudent among our equals in rank and fortune: yet how few, that are not either miserably covetous, or else proud of singularity, have this discretion to boast of? We all look above ourselves, and, as fast as we can, strive to imitate those that some way or other are superior to us.

The poorest labourer's wife in the parish, who scorns to wear a strong wholsome frize, as she might, will half starve herself and her husband to purchase a second-hand gown and petticoat, that cannot do her half the service; because, forsooth, it is more genteel. The weaver, the shoemaker, the taylor, the barber, and every mean working fellow that can set up with little, has the impudence with the first money he gets, to dress himself like a tradesman of substance: the ordinary retailer in the clothing of his wife, takes pattern from his neighbour that deals in the same commodity by wholesale, and the reason he gives for it is, that twelve years ago the other had not a bigger shop than himself. The druggist, mercer, draper, and other creditable shopkeepers, can find

find no difference between themſelves and merchants, and therefore dreſs and live like them. The merchant's lady, who cannot bear the aſſurance of thoſe mechanics, flies for refuge to the other end of the town, and ſcorns to follow any faſhion but what ſhe takes from thence. This haughtineſs alarms the court, the women of quality are frightned to ſee merchants wives and daughters dreſſed like themſelves: this impudence of the city, they cry, is intolerable; mantua-makers are ſent for, and the contrivance of faſhions becomes all their ſtudy, that they may have always new modes ready to take up, as ſoon as thoſe ſaucy cits ſhall begin to imitate thoſe in being. The ſame emulation is continued through the ſeveral degrees of quality to an incredible expence, till at laſt the princes great favourites, and thoſe of the firſt rank of all, having nothing elſe left to outſtrip ſome of their inferiors, are forc'd to lay out vaſt eſtates in pompous equipages, magnificent furniture, ſumptuous gardens, and princely palaces.

To this emulation and continual ſtriving to outdo one another it is owing, that after ſo many various ſhiftings and changings of modes, in trumping up new ones and renewing of old ones, there is ſtill a *plus ultra* left for the ingenious; it is this, or at leaſt the conſequence of it, that ſets the poor to work, adds ſpurs to induſtry, and encourages the ſkilful artificer to ſearch after further improvements.

It may be objected, that many people of good faſhion, who have been uſed to be well dreſſed, out of cuſtom wear rich clothes with all the indifference imaginable, and that the benefit to trade accruing from them cannot be aſcribed to emulation

on or pride. To this I answer, that it is impossible, that those who trouble their heads so little with their dress, could ever have wore those rich clothes, if both the stuffs and fashions had not been first invented to gratify the vanity of others, who took greater delight in fine apparel, than they; besides that every body is not without pride that appears to be so; all the symptoms of that vice are not easily discovered; they are manifold, and vary according to the age, humour, circumstances, and often constitution of the people.

The choleric city captain seems impatient to come to action, and expressing his warlike genius by the firmness of his steps, makes his pike, for want of enemies, tremble at the valour of his arm: his martial finery, as he marches along, inspires him with an unusual elevation of mind, by which endeavouring to forget his shop as well as himself, he looks up at the balconies with the fierceness of a Saracen conqueror: whilst the phlegmatic alderman, now become venerable both for his age and his authority, contents himself with being thought a considerable man; and knowing no easier way to express his vanity, looks big in his coach, where being known by his paultry livery, he receives, in sullen state, the homage that is paid him by the meaner sort of people.

The beardless ensign counterfeits a gravity above his years, and with ridiculous assurance strives to imitate the stern countenance of his colonel, flattering himself all the while that by his daring mein you'll judge of his prowess. The youthful fair, in a vast concern of being overlook'd, by the continual change of her posture betrays a violent desire of being observed, and catching, as it were, at every body's eyes, courts with obliging looks

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the admiration of her beholders. The conceited coxcomb, on the contrary, displaying an air of sufficiency, is wholly taken up with the contemplation of his own perfections, and in public places discovers such a disregard to others, that the ignorant must imagine he thinks himself to be alone.

These, and such like, are all manifest, though different, tokens of pride, that are obvious to all the world; but man's vanity is not always so soon found out. When we perceive an air of humanity, and men seem not to be employed in admiring themselves, nor altogether unmindful of others, we are apt to pronounce 'em void of pride, when perhaps they are only fatigued with gratifying their vanity, and become languid from a satiety of enjoyments. That outward show of peace within, and drousy composure of careless negligence, with which a great man is often seen in his plain chariot to loll at ease, are not always so free from art, as they may seem to be. "Nothing is more ra-"vishing to the proud than to be thought happy."

The well-bred gentleman places his greatest pride in the skill he has of covering it with dexterity; and some are so expert in concealing this frailty, that when they are the most guilty of it, the vulgar think them the most exempt from it. Thus the dissembling courtier, when he appears in state, assumes an air of modesty and good humour; and whilst he is ready to burst with vanity, seems to be wholly ignorant of his greatness; well knowing, that those lovely qualities must heighten him in the esteem of others, and be an addition to that grandeur, which the coronets about his coach and harnasses, with the rest of his equipage, cannot fail to proclaim without his assistance.

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And as in these, pride is overlooked, because industriously concealed, so in others again it is denied that they have any, when they shew, or at least seem to shew, it in the most public manner. The wealthy parson being, as well as the rest of his profession, debarr'd from the gaiety of laymen, makes it his business to look out for an admirable black and the finest cloth that money can purchase, and distinguishes himself by the fulness of his noble and spotless garment: his wigs are as fashionable as that form he is forced to comply with will admit of; but as he is only stinted in their shape, so he takes care that for goodness of hair, and colour, few noblemen shall be able to match them: his body is ever clean, as well as his clothes, his sleek face is kept constantly shav'd, and his handsome nails are diligently pared; his smooth white hand and a brilliant of the first water, mutually becoming, honour each other with double graces: what linen he discovers is transparently curious, and he scorns ever to be seen abroad with a worse beaver, than what a rich banker would be proud of on his wedding-day: to all these niceties in dress he adds a majestic gate, and expresses a commanding loftiness in his carriage; yet common civility, notwithstanding the evidence of so many concurring symptoms, won't allow us to suspect any of his actions to be the result of pride; considering the dignity of his office, it is only decency in him what would be vanity in others; and in good manners to his calling we ought to believe, that the worthy gentleman, without any regard to his reverend person, puts himself to all this trouble and expence merely out of a respect which is due to the divine order he belongs to, and a religious zeal to preserve his holy function from the contempt

contempt of ſcoffers. With all my heart; nothing of all this ſhall be call'd pride, let me only be allowed to ſay, that to our human capacities it looks very like it.

But if at laſt I ſhould grant, that there are men who enjoy all the fineries of equipage and furniture as well as clothes, and yet have no pride in them; it is certain, that if all ſhould be ſuch, that emulation I ſpoke of before muſt ceaſe, and conſequently trade, which has ſo great a dependence upon it, ſuffer in every branch. For to ſay, that if all men were truly virtuous, they might, without any regard to themſelves, conſume as much out of zeal to ſerve their neighbours and promote the public good, as they do now out of ſelf-love and emulation, is a miſerable ſhift, and an unreaſonable ſuppoſition. As there have been good people in all ages, ſo, without doubt, we are not deſtitute of them in this; but let us enquire of the periwig-makers and taylors, in what gentlemen, even of the greateſt wealth and higheſt quality they ever could diſcover ſuch public-ſpirited views. Aſk the lacemen and the mercers, and the linen-drapers, whether the richeſt, and, if you will, the moſt virtuous ladies, if they buy with ready money, or intend to pay in any reaſonable time, will not drive from ſhop, to ſhop, to try the market, make as many words, and ſtand as hard with them to ſave a groat or ſix pence in a yard, as the moſt neceſſitous jilts in town. If it be urg'd, that if there are not, it is poſſible there might be ſuch people; I anſwer that it is as poſſible that cats inſtead of killing rats and mice, ſhould feed them, and go about the houſe to ſuckle and nurſe their young ones; or that a kite ſhould call the hens to their meat, as the cock does, and ſit brooding o-

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ver their chickens instead of devouring them; but if they should all do so, they would cease to be cats and kites; it is inconsistent with their natures, and the species of creatures which now we mean, when we name cats and kites, would be extinct as soon as that could come to pass.

(*N.*) *Envy itself and vanity*
Were ministers of industry.

Page 6. Line 15.

ENVY is that baseness in our nature, which makes us grieve and pine at what we conceive to be a happiness in others. I don't believe there is a human creature in his senses arrived to maturity, that at one time or other has not been carried away by this passion in good earnest; and yet I never met with any one that dar'd own he was guilty of it, but in jest. That we are not so generally ashamed of this vice, is owing to that strong habit of hypocrisy, by the help of which we have learned from our cradle to hide even from ourselves the vast extent of self-love, and all its different branches. It is impossible man should wish better for another than he does for himself, unless where he supposes an impossibility that himself should attain to those wishes; and from hence we may easily learn after what manner this passion is raised in us. In order to it, we are to consider first, That as well as we think of ourselves, so ill we often think of our neighbour with equal injustice;

justice; and when we apprehend, that others do or will enjoy what we think they don't deserve, it afflicts and makes us angry with the cause of that disturbance. Secondly, that we are ever employed in wishing well for ourselves, every one according to his judgment and inclinations; and when we observe something we like, and yet are destitute of, in the possession of others, it occasions first sorrow in us for not having the thing we like. This sorrow is incurable whilst we continue our esteem for the thing we want: but as self-defence is restless, and never suffers us to leave any means untried, how to remove evil from us, as far and as well as we are able; experience teaches us, that nothing in nature more alleviates this sorrow than our anger against those who are possest of what we esteem and want. This latter passion therefore we cherish and cultivate to save or relieve ourselves, at least in part, from the uneasiness we felt from the first.

Envy then is a compound of grief and anger. The degrees of this passion depend chiefly on the nearness or remoteness of the objects as to circumstances. If one, who is forc'd to walk on foot, envies a great man for keeping a coach and six, it will never be with that violence, or give him that disturbance which it may to a man, who keeps a coach himself; but can only afford to drive with four horses. The symptoms of envy are as various, and as hard to describe, as those of the plague; at some time it appears in one shape, at others in another quite different. Among the fair the disease is very common, and the signs of it very conspicuous in their opinions and censures of one another. In beautiful young women you may often discover this faculty to a high degree;

degree; they frequently will hate one another mortally, at firſt ſight, from no other principle than envy; and you may read this ſcorn, and unreaſonable averſion in their very countenances, if they have not a great deal of art, and well learned to diſſemble.

In the rude and unpoliſh'd multitude this paſſion is very barefac'd; eſpecially when they envy others for the goods of fortune: they rail at their betters, rip up their faults, and take pains to miſconſtrue their moſt commendable actions: they murmur at Providence, and loudly complain, that the good things of this world are chiefly enjoy'd by thoſe who do not deſerve them. The groſſer ſort of them it often affects ſo violently, that if they were not with-held by the fear of the laws, they would go directly and beat thoſe their envy is levell'd at, from no other provocation than what that paſſion ſuggeſts to them.

The men of letters labouring under this diſtemper diſcover quite different ſymptoms. When they envy a perſon for his parts and erudition, their chief care is induſtriouſly to conceal their frailty, which generally is attempted by denying and depreciating the good qualities they envy: they carefully peruſe his works, and are diſpleas'd at every fine paſſage they meet with; they look for nothing but his errors, and wiſh for no greater feaſt than a groſs miſtake: in their cenſures they are captious as well as ſevere, make mountains of mole-hills, and will not pardon the leaſt ſhadow of a fault, but exaggerate the moſt trifling omiſſion into a capital blunder.

Envy is viſible in brute beaſts; horſes ſhew it in their endeavours of out-ſtripping one another; and the beſt ſpirited will run themſelves to death before

before they'll ſuffer another before them. In dogs this paſſion is likewiſe plainly to be ſeen, thoſe who are uſed to be careſſed will never tamely bear that felicity in others. I have ſeen a lap-dog that would choak himſelf with victuals rather than leave any thing for a competitor of his own kind; and we may often obſerve the ſame behaviour in thoſe creatures which we daily ſee in infants that are froward, and by being over-fondled made humourſome. If out of caprice they at any time refuſe to eat what they have aſked for, and we can but make them believe that ſome body elſe, nay, even the cat or the dog is going to take it from them, they will make an end of their oughts with pleaſure, and feed even againſt their appetite.

If envy was not rivetted in human nature, it would not be ſo common in children, and youth would not be ſo generally ſpurr'd on by emulation. Thoſe who would derive every thing that is beneficial to the ſociety from a good principle, aſcribe the effects of emulation in ſchool-boys to a virtue of the mind, as it requires labour and pains, ſo it is evident that they commit a ſelf-denial, who act from that diſpoſition; but if we look narrowly into it, we ſhall find that this ſacrifice of eaſe and pleaſure is only made to envy, and the love of glory. If there was not ſomething very like this paſſion mix'd with that pretended virtue, it would be impoſſible to raiſe and increaſe it by the ſame means that create envy. The boy, who receives a reward for the ſuperiority of his performance, is conſcious of the vexation it would have been to him, if he ſhould have fallen ſhort of it: this reflection makes him exert himſelf, not to be out-done by thoſe whom now he

he looks upon as his inferiors, and the greater his pride is, the more ſelf-denial he'll practiſe to maintain his conqueſt. The other, who in ſpight of the pains he took to do well, has miſſed of the prize, is ſorry, and conſequently angry with him whom he muſt look upon as the cauſe of his grief: but to ſhew this anger would be ridiculous, and of no ſervice to him; ſo that he muſt either be contented to be leſs eſteem'd than the other boy; or by renewing his endeavours become a greater proficient: and it is ten to one, but the diſintereſted, good humour'd, and peaceable lad will chuſe the firſt, and ſo become indolent and unactive, whilſt the covetous, peeviſh, and quarrelſome raſcal ſhall take incredible pains, and make himſelf a conqueror in his turn.

Envy, as it is very common among painters, ſo it is of great uſe for their improvement: I don't mean, that little dawbers envy great maſters, but moſt of them are tainted with this vice againſt thoſe immediately above them. If the pupil of a famous artiſt is of a bright genius, and uncommon application, he firſt adores his maſter; but as his own ſkill increaſes, he begins inſenſibly to envy what he admired before. To learn the nature of this paſſion, and that it conſiſts in what I have named, we are but to obſerve, that if a painter, by exerting himſelf, comes not only to equal, but to exceed the man he envied, his ſorrow is gone, and all his anger diſarm'd; and if he hated him before, he is now glad to be friends with him, if the other will condeſcend to it.

Married women, who are guilty of this vice, which few are not, are always endeavouring to raiſe the ſame paſſion in their ſpouſes; and where they have prevailed, envy and emulation have kept

kept more men in bounds, and reformed more ill husbands from sloth, from drinking, and other evil courses, than all the sermons that have been preach'd since the time of the apostles.

As every body would be happy, enjoy pleasure, and avoid pain if he could; so self-love bids us look on every creature that seems satisfied as a rival in happiness; and the satisfaction we have in seeing that felicity disturbed, without any advantage to ourselves, but what springs from the pleasure we have in beholding it, is called loving mischief for mischief's sake; and the motive of which that frailty is the result, malice, another offspring derived from the same original; for if there was no envy there could be no malice. When the passions ly dormant we have no apprehension of them, and often people think they have not such a frailty in their nature, because that moment they are not affected with it.

A gentleman well dressed, who happens to be dirty'd all over by a coach or a cart, is laugh'd at, and by his inferiors much more than his equals, because they envy him more; they know he is vex'd at it, and imagining him to be happier than themselves, they are glad to see him meet with displeasures in his turn: but a young lady, if she be in a serious mood, instead of laughing at, pities him, because a clean man is a sight she takes delight in, and there is no room for envy. At disasters, we either laugh, or pity those that befal them, according to the stock we are possessed of either of malice or compassion. If a man falls or hurts himself so slightly that it moves not the latter, we laugh, and here our pity and malice shake us alternately: indeed, Sir, I am very sorry for it, I beg your pardon for laughing; I am

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the silliest creature in the world, then laugh again; and again, I am indeed very sorry, and so on. Some are so malicious, they would laugh if a man broke his leg; and others are so compassionate that they can heartily pity a man for the least spot in his clothes; but no body is so savage that no compassion can touch him, nor any man so good-natur'd as never to be affected with any malicious pleasures. How strangely our passions govern us! we envy a man for being rich, and then perfectly hate him; but if we come to be his equals, we are calm, and the least condescension in him makes us friends; but if we become visibly superior to him, we can pity his misfortunes. The reason why men of true good sense envy less than others, is because they admire themselves with less hesitation than fools and silly people; for though they do not shew this to others, yet the solidity of their thinking gives them an assurance of their real worth, which men of weak understanding can never feel within, tho' they often counterfeit it.

The Ostracism of the Greeks was a sacrifice of valuable men made to Epidemic envy, and often applied as an infallible remedy to cure and prevent the mischiefs of popular spleen and rancour. A victim of state often appeases the murmurs of a whole nation, and after-ages frequently wonder at barbarities of this nature, which under the same circumstances they would have committed themselves. They are compliments to the people's malice, which is never better gratified than when they can see a great man humbled. We believe that we love justice, and to see merit rewarded; but if men continue long in the first posts of honour, half of us grow weary of them, look for

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their faults, and if we can find none, we suppose they hide them, and 'tis much if the greatest part of us don't wish them discarded. This foul play the best of men ought ever to apprehend from all who are not their immediate friends or acquaintance; because nothing is more tiresome to us than the repetition of praises we have no manner of share in.

The more a passion is a compound of many others, the more difficult it is to define it; and the more it is tormenting to those that labour under it, the greater cruelty it is capable of inspiring them with against others: therefore nothing is more whimsical or mischievous than jealousy, which is made up of love, hope, fear, and a great deal of envy: the last has been sufficiently treated of already, and what I have to say of fear, the reader will find under remark (R.) so that the better to explain and illustrate this odd mixture, the ingredients I shall further speak of in this place are hope and love.

Hoping is wishing with some degree of confidence, that the thing wished for will come to pass. The firmness and imbecillity of our hope depend entirely on the greater or lesser degree of our confidence: and all hope includes doubt; for when our confidence is arrived to that height, as to exclude all doubts, it becomes a certainty, and we take for granted what we only hoped for before. A Silver Inkhorn may pass in speech, because every body knows what we mean by it, but a Certain Hope cannot: for a man who makes use of an epithet that destroys the essence of the substantive he joins it to, can have no meaning at all; and the more clearly we understand the force of the epithet, and the nature of the substantive,

the more palpable is the nonsense of the heterogeneous compound. The reason therefore why it is not so shocking to some to hear a man speak of certain hope, as if he should talk of hot ice, or liquid oak, is not because there is less nonsense contain'd in the first, than there is in either of the latter; but because the word Hope, I mean the essence of it, is not so clearly understood by the generality of the people, as the words and essences of ice and oak are.

Love, in the first place, signifies affection, such as parents and nurses bear to children, and friends to one another; it consists in a liking and well-wishing to the person beloved. We give an easy construction to his words and actions, and feel a proneness to excuse and forgive his faults, if we see any; his interest we make on all accounts our own, even to our prejudice, and receive an inward satisfaction for sympathizing with him in his sorrows, as well as joys. What I said last is not impossible, whatever it may seem to be; for when we are sincere in sharing with another in his misfortunes, self-love makes us believe, that the sufferings we feel must alleviate and lessen those of our friend; and whilst this fond reflexion is soothing our pain, a secret pleasure arises from our grieving for the person we love.

Secondly, By love we understand a strong inclination, in its nature distinct from all other affections of friendship, gratitude and consanguinity, that persons of different sexes, after liking bear to one another; it is in this signification that love enters into the compound of Jealousy, and is the effect as well as happy disguise of that passion that prompts us to labour for the preservation of our species. This latter appetite is innate both in men and

and women, who are not defective in their formation, as much as hunger or thirſt, tho' they are ſeldom affected with it before the years of puberty. Could we undreſs nature, and pry into her deepeſt receſſes, we ſhould diſcover the ſeeds of this paſſion before it exerts itſelf, as plainly as we ſee teeth in an embryo, before the gums are form'd. There are few healthy people of either ſex, whom it has made no impreſſion upon before twenty: yet, as the peace and happineſs of the civil ſociety require that this ſhould be kept a ſecret, never to be talked of in public; ſo among well-bred people it is counted highly criminal to mention before company any thing in plain words, that is relating to this myſtery of ſucceſſion: by which means the very name of the appetite, tho' the moſt neceſſary for the continuance of mankind, is become odious, and the proper epithets commonly joined to luſt are Filthy and Abominable.

This impulſe of nature in people of ſtrict morals, and rigid modeſty, often diſturbs the body for a conſiderable time before it is underſtood or known to be what it is; and it is remarkable, that the moſt poliſhed and beſt inſtructed are generally the moſt ignorant as to this affair. And here I can but obſerve the difference between man in the wild ſtate of nature, and the ſame creature in the civil ſociety. In the firſt, men and women, if left rude and untaught in the ſciences of modes and manners, would quickly find out the cauſe of that diſturbance, and be at a loſs no more than other animals for a preſent remedy: beſides that, it is not probable they would want either precept or example from the more experienced. But in the ſecond, where the rules of religion, law and decency are to be followed and obeyed before any

dictates of nature, the youth of both sexes are to be armed and fortified against this impulse, and from their infancy artfully frightned from the most remote approaches of it. The appetite itself, and all the symptoms of it, tho' they are plainly felt and understood, are to be stifled with care and severity, and in women flatly disowned, and, if there be occasion, with obstinacy denied, even when themselves are visibly affected by them. If it throws them into distempers, they must be cured by physic, or else patiently bear them in silence: and it is the interest of the society to preserve decency and politeness; that women should linger, waste, and die, rather than relieve themselves in an unlawful manner; and among the fashionable part of mankind, the people of birth and fortune, it is expected that matrimony should never be entred upon without a curious regard to family, estate, and reputation, and in the making of matches the call of nature be the very last consideration.

Those then who would make love and lust synonimous, confound the effect with the cause of it; yet such is the force of education, and a habit of thinking as we are taught, that sometimes persons of either sex are actually in love without feeling any carnal desires, or penetrating into the intentions of nature, the end proposed by her without which they could never have been affected with that sort of passion. That there are such is certain, but many more whose pretences to those refined notions are only upheld by art and dissimulation. Those, who are really such Platonic lovers are commonly the pale-faced weakly people, of cold and phlegmatic constitutions, in either sex; the hail and robust of bilious temperament and a sanguine complexion never entertain any love so spiritual

ritual as to exclude all thoughts and wishes that relate to the body. But if the most seraphic lovers would know the original of their inclination, let them but suppose that another should have the corporal enjoyment of the person beloved, and by the tortures they'll suffer from that reflexion they will soon discover the nature of their passions: whereas on the contrary, parents and friends receive a satisfaction in reflecting on the joys and comforts of a happy marriage, to be tasted by those they wish well to.

The curious, that are skill'd in anatomizing the invisible part of man, will observe, that the more sublime and exempt this love is from all thoughts of sensuality, the more spurious it is, and the more it degenerates from its honest original and primitive simplicity. The power and sagacity as well as labour and care of the politician in civilizing the society, has been no where more conspicuous, than in the happy contrivance of playing our passions against one another. By flattering our pride and still encreasing the good opinion we have of ourselves, on the one hand; and inspiring us, on the other, with a superlative dread and mortal aversion against shame; the artful moralists have taught us chearfully to encounter ourselves, and if not subdue, at least so to conceal and disguise our darling passion, lust, that we scarce know it when we meet with it in our own breasts: oh! the mighty prize we have in view for all our self-denial! Can any man be so serious as to abstain from laughter, when he considers that for so much deceit and insincerity practised upon ourselves as well as others, we have no other recompence than the vain satisfaction of making our species appear more exalted and remote from that of other animals, than it

really is, and we in our consciences know it to be? yet this is fact, and in it we plainly perceive the reason why it was necessary to render odious every word or action by which we might discover the innate desire we feel to perpetuate our kind; and why tamely to submit to the violence of a furious appetite (which is painful to resist) and innocently to obey the most pressing demand of nature without guile or hypocrisy, like other creatures, should be branded with the ignominious name of brutality.

What we call love then is not a genuine, but an adulterated appetite, or rather a compound, a heap of several contradictory passions blended in one. As it is a product of nature warp'd by custom and education, so the true origin and first motive of it, as I have hinted already, is stifled in well-bred people, and almost concealed from themselves; all which is the reason that as those affected with it vary in age, strength, resolution, temper, circumstances, and manners, the effects of it are so different, whimsical, surprising and unaccountable.

It is this passion that makes jealousy so troublesome, and the envy of it often so fatal; those who imagine that there may be jealousy without love, do not understand that passion. Men may not have the least affection for their wives, and yet be angry with them for their conduct, and suspicious of them either with or without a cause: but what in such cases affects them is their pride, the concern for their reputation. They feel a hatred against them without remorse; when they are outrageous, they can beat them and go to sleep contentedly: such husbands may watch their dames themselves, and have them observed by others; but

but their vigilance is not so intense; they are not so inquisitive or industrious in their searches, neither do they feel that anxiety of heart at the fear of a discovery, as when love is mix'd with the passions.

What confirms me in this opinion is, that we never observe this behaviour between a man and his mistress; for when his love is gone, and he suspects her to be false, he leaves her, and troubles his head no more about her: whereas it is the greatest difficulty imaginable, even to a man of sense, to part with a mistress as long as he loves her, whatever faults she may be guilty of. If in his anger he strikes her, he is uneasy after it; his love makes him reflect on the hurt he has done her, and he wants to be reconcil'd to her again. He may talk of hating her, and many times from his heart wish her hang'd, but if he cannot get entirely rid of his frailty, he can never disintangle himself from her: tho' she is represented in the most monstrous guilt to his imagination, and he has resolved and swore a thousand times never to come near her again, there is no trusting him; even when he is fully convinc'd of her infidelity, if his love continues, his despair is never so lasting, but between the blackest fits of it he relents, and finds lucid intervals of hope; he forms excuses for her, thinks of pardoning, and, in order to it, racks his invention for possibilities that may make her appear less criminal.

(O.) Real pleasures, comforts, ease.

Page 6. Line 32.

THAT the higheſt good conſiſted in pleaſure, was the doctrine of Epicurus, who yet led a life exemplary for continence, ſobriety and other virtues, which made people of the ſucceeding ages quarrel about the ſignification of pleaſure. Thoſe who argued from the temperance of the philoſopher, ſaid, That the delight Epicurus meant, was being virtuous; ſo Eraſmus in his Colloquies tells us, That there are no greater epicures than pious Chriſtians. Others, that reflected on the diſſolute manners of the greateſt part of his followers, would have it, that by pleaſures he could have underſtood nothing but ſenſual ones, and the gratification of our paſſions I ſhall not decide their quarrel, but am of opinion, that whether men be good or bad, what they take delight in, is their pleaſure; and not to look out for any further etymology from the learned languages, I believe an Engliſhman may juſtly call every thing a pleaſure that pleaſes him; and, according to this definition, we ought to diſpute no more about mens pleaſures than their taſtes: *Trahit ſua quemque voluptas.*

The worldly-minded, voluptuous and ambitious man, notwithſtanding he is void of merit, covets precedence every where, and deſires to be dignified above his betters: he aims at ſpacious palaces,

palaces, and delicious gardens; his chief delight is in excelling others in ſtately horſes, magnificent coaches, a numerous attendance, and dear-bought furniture. To gratify his luſts, he wiſhes for genteel, young, beautiful women of different charms and complexions, that ſhall adore his greatneſs, and be really in love with his perſon: his cellars he would have ſtored with the flower of every country that produces excellent wines: his table he deſires may be ſerv'd with many courſes, and each of them contain a choice variety of dainties not eaſily purchaſed, and ample evidences of elaborate and judicious cookery; whilſt harmonious muſic and well-couch'd flattery entertain his hearing by turns. He employs, even in the meaneſt trifles, none but the ableſt and moſt ingenious workmen, that his judgment and fancy may as evidently appear in the leaſt things that belong to him, as his wealth and quality are manifeſted in thoſe of greater value. He deſires to have ſeveral ſetts of witty, facetious and polite people to converſe with, and among them he would have ſome famous for learning and univerſal knowledge: for his ſerious affairs, he wiſhes to find men of parts and experience, that ſhould be diligent and faithful. Thoſe that are to wait on him he would have handy, mannerly and diſcreet, of comely aſpect, and a graceful mein: what he requires in them, beſides, is a reſpectful care of every thing that is his, nimbleneſs without hurry, diſpatch without noiſe, and an unlimited obedience to his orders: nothing he thinks more troubleſome than ſpeaking to ſervants; wherefore he will only be attended by ſuch as, by obſerving his looks, have learn'd to interpret his will from his ſlighteſt motions. He loves to ſee an elegant nicety in every thing that

approaches him, and in what is to be employed about his person he desires a superlative cleanliness to be religiously observed. The chief officers of his houshold he would have to be men of birth, honour and distinction, as well as order, contrivance and œconomy; for tho' he loves to be honoured by every body, and receives the respects of the common people with joy, yet the homage that is paid him by persons of quality is ravishing to him in a more transcendent manner.

Whilst thus wallowing in a sea of lust and vanity, he is wholly employed in provoking and indulging his appetites; he desires the world should think him altogether free from pride and sensuality, and put a favourable construction upon his most glaring vices: nay, if his authority can purchase it, he covets to be thought wise, brave, generous, good-natur'd, and endued with all the virtues he thinks worth having. He would have us believe that the pomp and luxury he is serv'd with are as many tiresome plagues to him; and all the grandeur he appears in is an ungrateful burden, which, to his sorrow, is inseparable from the high sphere he moves in; that his noble mind, so much exalted above vulgar capacities, aims at higher ends, and cannot relish such worthless enjoyments; that the highest of his ambition is to promote the public welfare, and his greatest pleasure to see his country flourish, and every body in it made happy. These are call'd real pleasures by the vicious and earthly minded; and whoever is able, either by his skill or fortune, after this refin'd manner, at once to enjoy the world, and the good opinion of it, is counted extremely happy by all the most fashionable part of the people.

But on the other side, most of the ancient philosophers

losophers and grave moralists, especially the Stoics, would not allow any thing to be a real good that was liable to be taken from them by others. They wisely consider'd the instability of fortune, and the favour of princes; the vanity of honour, and popular applause; the precariousness of riches, and all earthly possessions: and therefore placed true happiness in the calm serenity of a contented mind free from guilt and ambition; a mind that, having subdued every sensual appetite, despises the smiles as well as frowns of fortune, and, taking no delight but in contemplation, desires nothing but what every body is able to give to himself; a mind that is arm'd with fortitude and resolution, has learned to sustain the greatest losses without concern, to endure pain without affliction, and to bear injuries without resentment. Many have own'd themselves arriv'd to this height of self-denial, and then, if we may believe them, they were rais'd above common mortals, and their strength extended vastly beyond the pitch of their first nature: they could behold the anger of threatning tyrants, and the most imminent dangers, without terror, and preserv'd their tranquility in the midst of torments: death itself they could meet with intrepidity, and left the world with no greater reluctance than they had shew'd fondness at their entrance into it.

These among the ancients have always bore the greatest sway; yet others, that were no fools neither, have exploded those precepts as impracticable, call'd their notions romantic, and endeavour'd to prove that what these Stoics asserted of themselves exceeded all human force and possibility, and that therefore the virtues they boasted of could be nothing but haughty pretence, full of arrogance and

hypocrisy; yet notwithstanding these censures, the serious part of the world, and the generality of wise men that have liv'd ever since to this day, agree with the Stoics in the most material points; as that there can be no true felicity in what depends on things perishable; that peace within is the greatest blessing, and no conquest like that of our passions; that knowledge, temperance, fortitude, humility and other embellishments of the mind are the most valuable acquisitions; that no man can be happy but he that is good; and that the virtuous are only capable of enjoying real pleasures.

I expect to be ask'd why in the fable I have called those pleasures real that are directly opposite to those which I own the wise men of all ages have extoll'd as the most valuable. My answer is, because I don't call things pleasures which men say are best, but such as they seem to be most pleased with. How can I believe that a man's chief delight is in the embellishments of the mind, when I see him ever employed about, and daily pursue the pleasures that are contrary to them? John never cuts any pudding, but just enough, that you can't say he took none; this little bit, after much chomping and chewing, you see goes down with him like chop'd hay; after that he falls upon the beef with a voracious appetite, and crams himself up to his throat. Is it not provoking to hear John cry every day that pudding is all his delight, and that he does not value the beef of a farthing?

I could swagger about fortitude and the contempt of riches as much as Seneca himself, and would undertake to write twice as much in behalf of poverty as ever he did, for the tenth part of his estate: I could teach the way to his *summum bo-*

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num as exactly as I know my way home: I could tell people that to extricate themselves from all worldly engagements, and to purify the mind, they must divest themselves of their passions, as men take out the furniture when they would clean a room throughly; and I am clearly of the opinion, that the malice and most severe strokes of fortune can do no more injury to a mind thus stript of all fears, wishes and inclinations, than a blind horse can do in an empty barn. In the theory of all this I am very perfect, but the practice is very difficult; and if you went about picking my pocket, offer'd to take the victuals from before me when I am hungry, or made but the least motion of spitting in my face, I dare not promise how philosophically I should behave myself. But that I am forced to submit to every caprice of my unruly nature, you'll say, is no argument that others are as little masters of theirs: and therefore I am willing to pay adoration to virtue wherever I can meet with it, with a proviso, that I shall not be obliged to admit any as such, where I can see no self-denial, or to judge of men's sentiments from their words where I have their lives before me.

I have search'd through every degree and station of men, and confess, that I have found no where more austerity of manners, or greater contempt of earthly pleasures, than in some religious houses, where people, freely resigning and retiring from the world to combat themselves, have no other business but to subdue their appetites. What can be a greater evidence of perfect chastity, and a superlative love to immaculate purity in men and women, than that in the prime of their age, when lust is most raging, they should actually seclude themselves from each other's company, and by a voluntary

voluntary renunciation debar themſelves for life, not only from uncleanneſs, but even the moſt lawful embraces? Thoſe that abſtain from fleſh, and often all manner of food, one would think in the right way to conquer all carnal deſires; and I could almoſt ſwear that he does not conſult his eaſe, who daily mauls his bare back and ſhoulders with unconſcionable ſtripes, and, conſtantly rouzed at midnight from his ſleep, leaves his bed for his devotion. Who can deſpiſe riches more, or ſhew himſelf leſs avaricious than he, who won't ſo much as touch gold or ſilver, no not with his feet? or, can any mortal ſhew himſelf leſs luxurious or more humble than the man that, making poverty his choice, contents himſelf with ſcraps and fragments, and refuſes to eat any bread but what is beſtowed upon him by the charity of others?

Such fair inſtances of ſelf denial would make me bow down to virtue, if I was not deter'd and warned from it by ſo many perſons of eminence and learning, who unanimouſly tell me that I am miſtaken, and all I have ſeen is farce and hypocriſy; that what ſeraphic love they may pretend to, there is nothing but diſcord among them, and that how penitential the nuns and friars may appear in their ſeveral convents, they none of them ſacrifice their darling luſts; that among the women they are not all virgins that paſs for ſuch, and that if I was to be let into their ſecrets, and examine ſome of their ſubterraneous privacies, I ſhould ſoon be convinced by ſcenes of horror, that ſome of them muſt have been mothers; that among the men I ſhould find calumny, envy and ill-nature in the higheſt degree, or elſe gluttony, drunkenneſs, and impurities of a more execrable kind than adultery itſelf; and as for the mendicant orders, that they differ

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in nothing but their habits from other sturdy beggars, who deceive people with a pitiful tone, and an outward shew of misery, and, as soon as they are out of sight, lay by their cant, indulge their appetites, and enjoy one another.

If the strict rules, and so many outward signs of devotion observ'd among those religious orders deserve such harsh censures, we may well despair of meeting with virtue any where else; for if we look into the actions of the antagonists and greatest accusers of those votaries, we shall not find so much as the appearance of self-denial. The reverend divines of all sects, even of the most reformed churches in all countries, take care with the *Cyclops Evangeliphorus* first, *ut ventri bene sit*, and afterwards, *ne quid desit iis qui sub ventre sunt*. To these they'll desire you to add, convenient houses, handsome furniture, good fires in winter, pleasant gardens in summer, neat clothes and money enough to bring up their children; precedency in all companies, respect from every body, and then as much religion as you please. The things I have named are the necessary comforts of life, which the most modest are not ashamed to claim, and which they are very uneasy without. They are, 'tis true, made of the same mould, and have the same corrupt nature with other men, born with the same infirmities, subject to the same passions, and liable to the same temptations, and therefore if they are diligent in their calling, and can but abstain from murder, adultery, swearing, drunkenness, and other heinous vices, their lives are called unblemish'd, and their reputations unspotted: their function renders them holy, and the gratification of so many carnal appetites, and the enjoyment of so much luxurious ease notwithstanding, they

they may set upon themselves what value their pride and parts will allow them.

All this I have nothing against, but I see no self-denial, without which there can be no virtue. Is it such a mortification not to desire a greater share of worldly blessings, than what every reasonable man ought to be satisfied with? or is there any mighty merit in not being flagitious, and forbearing indecencies that are repugnant to good manners, and which no prudent man would be guilty of, tho' he had no religion at all?

I know I shall be told, that the reason why the clergy are so violent in their resentments, when at any time they are but in the least affronted, and shew themselves so void of all patience when their rights are invaded, is their great care to preserve their calling, their profession, from contempt, not for their own sakes, but to be more serviceable to others. 'Tis the same reason that makes them solicitous about the comforts and conveniencies of life; for should they suffer themselves to be insulted over, be content with a coarser diet, and wear more ordinary clothes than other people, the multitude, who judge from outward appearances, would be apt to think that the clergy was no more the immediate care of Providence than other folks, and so not only undervalue their persons, but despise likewise all the reproofs and instructions that came from them. This is an admirable plea; and as it is much made use of, I'll try the worth of it.

I am not of the learned Dr Eachard's opinion, that poverty is one of those things that bring the clergy into contempt, any further than as it may be an occasion of discovering their blind side: for when men are always struggling with their low condition,

condition, and are unable to bear the burden of it without reluctancy, it is then they shew how uneasy their poverty sits upon them, how glad they would be to have their circumstances meliorated, and what a real value they have for the good things of this world. He that harangues on the contempt of riches, and the vanity of earthly enjoyments, in a rusty threadbare gown, because he has no other, and would wear his old greasy hat no longer if any body would give him a better; that drinks small-beer at home with a heavy countenance, but leaps at a glass of wine if he can catch it abroad; that with little appetite feeds upon his own coarse mess, but falls to greedily where he can please his palate, and expresses an uncommon joy at an invitation to a splendid dinner; 'tis he that is despised, not because he is poor, but because he knows not how to be so with that content and resignation which he preaches to others, and so discovers his inclinations to be contrary to his doctrine. But when a man, from the greatness of his soul (or an obstinate vanity, which will do as well) resolving to subdue his appetites in good earnest, refuses all the offers of ease and luxury that can be made to him, and embracing a voluntary poverty with chearfulness, rejects whatever may gratify the senses, and actually sacrifices all his passions to his pride in acting this part, the vulgar, far from contemning, will be ready to deify and adore him. How famous have the Cynic philosophers made themselves, only by refusing to dissimulate and make use of superfluities? did not the most ambitious monarch the world ever bore condescend to visit Diogenes in his tub, and return'd to a studied incivility the highest compliment a man of his pride was able to make?

Mankind

Mankind are very willing to take one anothers word, when they see some circumstances that corroborate what is told them; but when our actions directly contradict what we say, it is counted impudence to desire belief. If a jolly hail fellow, with glowing cheeks and warm hands, newly return'd from some smart exercise, or else the cold bath, tells us in frosty weather, that he cares not for the fire, we are easily induced to believe him, especially if he actually turns from it, and we know by his circumstances that he wants neither fuel nor clothes; but if we should hear the same from the mouth of a poor starved wretch, with swell'd hands, and a livid countenance, in a thin ragged garment, we should not believe a word of what he said, especially if we saw him, shaking and shivering, creep toward the sunny bank; and we would conclude, let him say what he could, that warm clothes and a good fire would be very acceptable to him. The application is easy: and therefore, if there be any clergy upon earth that would be thought not to care for the world, and to value the soul above the body, let them only forbear shewing a greater concern for their sensual pleasures than they generally do for their spiritual ones, and they may rest satisfied, that no poverty, whilst they bear it with fortitude, will ever bring them into contempt, how mean soever their circumstances may be.

Let us suppose a pastor that has a little flock entrusted to him, of which he is very careful: he preaches, visits, exhorts, reproves among his people with zeal and prudence, and does them all the kind offices that ly in his power to make them happy; there is no doubt but those under his care must be very much obliged to him. Now, we'll

suppose

ſuppoſe once more, that this good man, by the help of a little ſelf denial, is contented to live upon half his income, accepting only of twenty pounds a year inſtead of forty, which he could claim; and moreover that he loves his pariſhioners ſo well, that he will never leave them for any preferment whatever, no not a biſhoprick, tho' it be offer'd, I cannot ſee but all this might be an eaſy taſk to a man who profeſſes mortification, and has no value for worldly pleaſures; yet ſuch a diſintereſted divine I dare promiſe, notwithſtanding the great degeneracy of mankind, will be lov'd, eſteem'd, and have every body's good word; nay I would ſwear, that tho' he ſhould yet further exert himſelf, give above half of his ſmall revenue to the poor, live upon nothing but oatmeal and water, ly upon ſtraw, and wear the coarſeſt cloth that could be made, his mean way of living would never be reflected on, or be a diſparagement either to himſelf or the order he belonged to; but that, on the contrary, his poverty would never be mentioned but to his glory, as long as his memory ſhould laſt.

But (ſays a charitable young gentlewoman) tho' you have the heart to ſtarve your parſon, have you no bowels of compaſſion for his wife and children? pray what muſt remain of forty pounds a year after it has been twice ſo unmercifully ſplit? Or would you have the poor woman and the innocent babes likewiſe, live upon oat-meal and water, and ly upon ſtraw, you unconſcionable wretch, with all your ſuppoſitions and ſelf-denials? nay, is it poſſible, tho' they ſhould all live at your own murdering rate, that leſs than ten pounds a year could maintain a family?—Don't be in a paſſion, good Mrs Abigail, I have a great-

ter regard for your ſex than to preſcribe ſuch a lean diet to married men; but I confeſs I forgot the wives and children: the main reaſon was, becauſe I thought poor prieſts could have no occaſion for them. Who could imagine that the parſon, who is to teach others by example as well as precept, was not able to withſtand thoſe deſires which the wicked world itſelf calls unreaſonable? what is the reaſon, when a prentice marries before he is out of his time, that unleſs he meets with a good fortune, all his relations are angry with him, and every body blames him? nothing elſe but becauſe at that time he has no money at his diſpoſal, and, being bound to his maſter's ſervice, has no leiſure, and perhaps little capacity to provide for a family. What muſt we ſay to a parſon that has twenty, or, if you will, forty pounds a year; that, being bound more ſtrictly to all the ſervices a pariſh and his duty require, has little time, and generally much leſs ability to get any more? is it not very reaſonable he ſhould marry? but why ſhould a ſober young man, who is guilty of no vice, be debarred from lawful enjoyments? Right; marriage is lawful, and ſo is a coach; but what is that to people that have not money enough to keep one? if he muſt have a wife, let him look out for one with money, or wait for a greater benefice, or ſomething elſe to maintain her handſomely, and bear all incident charges. But nobody that has any thing herſelf will have him, and he can't ſtay: he has a very good ſtomach, and all the ſymptoms of health; 'tis not every body that can live without a woman; 'tis better 'to marry than burn.'—What a world of ſelf-denial is here? the ſober young man is very willing to be virtuous, but you muſt not croſs his inclinations;

inclinations; he promises never to be a deer-stealer, upon condition that he shall have venison of his own; and no body must doubt but that, if it came to the push, he is qualified to suffer martyrdom, tho' he owns that he has not strength enough patiently to bear a scratch'd finger.

When we see so many of the clergy, to indulge their lust, a brutish appetite, run themselves after this manner upon an inevitable poverty, which, unless they could bear it with greater fortitude than they discover in all their actions, must of necessity make them contemptible to all the world, what credit must we give them, when they pretend that they conform themselves to the world, not because they take delight in the several decencies, conveniencies, and ornaments of it, but only to preserve their function from contempt, in order to be more useful to others? have we not reason to believe, that what they say is full of hypocrisy and falshood, and that concupiscence is not the only appetite they want to gratify; that the haughty airs, and quick sense of injuries, the curious elegance in dress, and niceness of palate, so to be observed in most of them that are able to shew them, are the results of pride and luxury in them as they are in other people, and that the clergy are not possessed of more intrinsic virtue than any other profession?

I am afraid that by this time I have given many of my readers a real displeasure, by dwelling so long upon the reality of pleasure: but I can't help it. There is one thing comes into my head to corroborate what I have urged already, which I can't forbear mentioning: it is this: those who govern others throughout the world are at least as wise as the people that are governed by them, generally

generally ſpeaking: if for this reaſon we would take pattern from our ſuperiors, we have but to caſt our eyes on all the courts and governments in the univerſe, and we ſhall ſoon perceive from the actions of the great ones, which opinion they ſide with, and what pleaſures thoſe in the higheſt ſtations of all ſeem to be moſt fond of: for, if it be allowable at all to judge of people's inclinations from their manner of living, none can be leſs injured by it than thoſe who are the moſt at liberty to do as they pleaſe.

If the great ones of the clergy, as well as the laity of any country whatever, had no value for earthly pleaſures, and did not endeavour to gratify their appetites, why are envy and revenge ſo raging among them, and all the other paſſions improved and refined upon in courts of princes more than any where elſe? and why are their repaſts, their recreations, and whole manner of living always ſuch as are approved of, coveted and imitated by the moſt ſenſual people of that ſame country? If, deſpiſing all viſible decorations, they were only in love with the embelliſhments of the mind, why ſhould they borrow ſo many of the implements, and make uſe of the moſt darling toys of the luxurious? why ſhould a lord-treaſurer, or a biſhop, or even the Grand Seignior, or the Pope of Rome, to be good and virtuous, and endeavour the conqueſt of his paſſions, have occaſion for greater revenues, richer furniture, or a more numerous attendance, as to perſonal ſervice, than a private man? what virtue is it the exerciſe of which requires ſo much pomp and ſuperfluity, as are to be ſeen by all men in power? A man has as much opportunity to practiſe temperance, that has but one diſh at a meal, as he that is conſtantly

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ſerved with three courſes and a dozen diſhes in each: one may exerciſe as much patience, and be as full of ſelf-denial on a few flocks, without curtains or teſter, as in a velvet bed that is ſixteen foot high. The virtuous poſſeſſions of the mind are neither charge nor burden: a man may bear misfortunes with fortitude in a garret, forgive injuries a-foot, and be chaſte, tho' he has not a ſhirt to his back: and therefore I ſhall never believe, but that an indifferent ſkuller, if he was entruſted with it, might carry all the learning and religion that one man can contain, as well as a barge with ſix oars, eſpecially if it was but to croſs from Lambeth to Weſtminſter; or that humility is ſo ponderous a virtue, that it requires ſix horſes to draw it.

To ſay, that men not being ſo eaſily govern'd by their equals as by their ſuperiors, it is neceſſary that, to keep the multitude in awe, thoſe who rule over us ſhould excel others in outward appearance, and conſequently that all in high ſtations ſhould have badges of honour, and enſigns of power, to be diſtinguiſh'd from the vulgar, is a frivolous objection. This, in the firſt place, can only be of uſe to poor princes, and weak and precarious governments that, being actually unable to maintain the public peace, are obliged with a pageant ſhew to make up what they want in real power: ſo the governor of Batavia in the Eaſt-Indies is forced to keep up a grandeur, and live in a magnificence above his quality, to ſtrike a terror in the natives of Java, who, if they had ſkill and conduct, are ſtrong enough to deſtroy ten times the number of their maſters: but great princes and ſtates that keep large fleets at ſea, and numerous armies in the field, have no occaſion for ſuch ſtratagems; for

for what makes them formidable abroad, will never fail to be their ſecurity at home. Secondly, what muſt protect the lives and wealth of people from the attempts of wicked men in all ſocieties, is the ſeverity of the laws, and diligent adminiſtration of impartial juſtice. Theft, houſe-breaking and murder are not to be prevented by the ſcarlet gowns of the aldermen, the gold chains of the ſheriffs, the fine trappings of their horſes, or any gaudy ſhew whatever: thoſe pageant ornaments are beneficial another way; they are eloquent lectures to prentices, and the uſe of them is to animate, not to deter: but men of abandon'd principles muſt be awed by rugged officers, ſtrong priſons, watchful jaylors, the hang-man, and the gallows. If London was to be one week deſtitute of conſtables and watchmen to guard the houſes a-night, half the bankers would be ruined in that time; and if my lord may or had nothing to defend himſelf but his great two-handed ſword, the huge cap of maintenance, and his gilded mace, he would ſoon be ſtrip'd in the very ſtreets of the city of all his finery in his ſtately coach.

But let us grant that the eyes of the mobility are to be dazzled with a gaudy outſide; if virtue was the chief delight of great men, why ſhould their extravagance be extended to things not underſtood by the mob, and wholly removed from public view, I mean their private diverſions, the pomp and luxury of the dining-room and the bed-chamber, and the curioſities of the cloſet? Few of the vulgar know that there is wine of a guinea the bottle, that birds no bigger than larks are often ſold for half a guinea a-piece, or that a ſingle picture may be worth ſeveral thouſand pounds: beſides, is it to be imagined, that unleſs it was to

pleaſe

please their own appetites men should put themselves to such vast expences for a political shew, and be so solicitous to gain the esteem of those whom they so much despise in every thing else? If we allow that the splendour and all the elegancy of a court are insipid, and only tiresome to the prince himself, and are altogether made use of to preserve royal majesty from contempt; can we say the same of half a dozen illegitimate children, most of them the offspring of adultery by the same majesty got, educated, and made princes at the expence of the nation? Therefore it is evident, that this awing of the multitude by a distinguish'd manner of living, is only a cloak and pretence, under which great men would shelter their vanity, and indulge every appetite about them without reproach.

A burgomaster of Amsterdam in his plain, black suit, followed perhaps by one footman, is fully as much respected and better obey'd than a lord mayor of London with all his splendid equipage, and great train of attendance. Where there is a real power it is ridiculous to think that any temperance or austerity of life should ever render the person in whom that power is lodg'd contemptible in his office, from an emperor to the beadle of a parish. Cato in his government of Spain, in which he acquitted himself with so much glory, had only three servants to attend him; do we hear that any of his orders were ever slighted for this, notwithstanding that he lov'd his bottle? and when that great man marched on foot thro' the scorching sands of Lybia, and, parch'd up with thirst, refused to touch the water that was brought him, before all his soldiers had drank, do we ever read that this heroic forbearance weakned his authority

or leſſen'd him in the eſteem of his army? But what need we go ſo far off? there has not theſe many ages been a prince leſs inclin'd to pomp and luxury than the † preſent king of Sweden, who, enamour'd with the title of Hero, has not only ſacrific'd the lives of his ſubjects, and welfare of his dominions, but, what is more uncommon in ſovereigns, his own eaſe, and all the comforts of life, to an implacable ſpirit of revenge; yet he is obey'd to the ruin of his people, in obſtinately maintaining a war that has almoſt utterly deſtroyed his kingdom.

† *This was wrote in* 1714.

Thus I have prov'd, that the real pleaſures of all men in nature are worldly and ſenſual, if we judge from their practice; I ſay all men in nature, becauſe devout Chriſtians, who alone are to be excepted here, being regenerated, and preternaturally aſſiſted by the divine grace, cannot be ſaid to be in nature. How ſtrange it is that they ſhould all ſo unanimouſly deny it! Aſk not only the divines and moraliſts of every nation, but likewiſe all that are rich and powerful, about real pleaſure, and they'll tell you, with the Stoics, that there can be no true felicity in things mundane and corruptible: but then look upon their lives, and you'll find they take delight in no other.

What muſt we do in this dilemma? ſhall we be ſo uncharitable, as judging from men's actions to ſay, that all the world prevaricates, and that this is not their opinion, let them talk what they will? or ſhall we be ſo ſilly, as, relying on what they ſay, to think them ſincere in their ſentiments, and ſo not believe our own eyes? or ſhall we rather endeavour to believe ourſelves and them too, and ſay with Montagne, that they imagine, and are fully perſwaded, that they believe what yet they do not

not believe? These are his words; "Some impose on the world, and would be thought to "believe what they really don't; but much the "greater number impose upon themselves, not "considering nor thoroughly apprehending what "it is to believe." But this is making all mankind either fools or impostors, which to avoid there is nothing left us, but to say, what Mr Bayle has endeavour'd to prove at large in his Reflexions on Comets, that man is so unaccountable a creature as to act most commonly against his principle; and this is so far from being injurious, that it is a compliment to human nature, for we must say either this or worse.

This contradiction in the frame of man is the reason that the theory of virtue is so well understood, and the practice of it so rarely to be met with. If you ask me where to look for those beautiful shining qualities of prime ministers, and the great favourites of princes that are so finely painted in dedications, addresses, epitaphs, funeral sermons and inscriptions? I answer There, and no where else. Where would you look for the excellency of a statue, but in that part which you see of it? 'tis the polish'd out-side only that has the skill and labour of the sculptor to boast of; what's out of sight is untouch'd. Would you break the head or cut open the breast to look for the brains or the heart, you'd only shew your ignorance and destroy the workmanship. This has often made me compare the virtues of good men to your large China jars; they make a fine shew, and are ornamental to a chimney; one would by the bulk they appear in, and the value that is set upon 'em, think they might be very useful, but look into a thousand of them, and you will find nothing in them but dust and cobwebs.

(P.) ——————*The very poor*
Liv'd better than the rich before.

Page 6. Line 33.

IF we trace the moſt flouriſhing nations in their origin, we ſhall find, that in the remote beginnings of every ſociety, the richeſt and moſt conſiderable men among them were a great while deſtitute of a great many comforts of life that are now enjoy'd by the meaneſt and moſt humble wretches: ſo that many things, which were once look'd upon as the invention of luxury, are now allow'd even to thoſe that are ſo miſerably poor as to become the objects of public charity, nay counted ſo neceſſary, that we think no human creature ought to want them.

In the firſt ages, man, without doubt, fed on the fruits of the earth, without any previous preparation, and repoſed himſelf naked like other animals on the lap of their common parent: whatever has contributed ſince to make life more comfortable, as it muſt have been the reſult of thought, experience, and ſome labour, ſo it more or leſs deſerves the name of luxury, the more or leſs trouble it required, and deviated from the primitive ſimplicity. Our admiration is extended no farther than to what is new to us, and we all over-look the excellency of things we are uſed to, be they never ſo curious. A man would be laugh'd at, that ſhould diſcover luxury in the plain dreſs

of

of a poor creature that walks along in a thick parish gown, and a coarse shirt underneath it; and yet what a number of people, how many different trades, and what a variety of skill and tools must be employ'd to have the most ordinary Yorkshire cloth! what depth of thought and ingenuity, what toil and labour, and what length of time must it have cost, before man could learn from a seed to raise and prepare so useful a product as linen!

Must that society not be vainly curious, among whom this admirable commodity, after it is made, shall not be thought fit to be used even by the poorest of all, before it is brought to a perfect whiteness, which is not to be procur'd but by the assistance of all the elements, join'd to a world of industry and patience? I have not done yet: can we reflect, not only on the cost laid out upon this luxurious invention, but likewise on the little time the whiteness of it continues, in which part of its beauty consists, that every six or seven days at farthest it wants cleaning, and whilst it lasts is a continual charge to the wearer; can we, I say, reflect on all this, and not think it an extravagant piece of nicety, that even those who receive alms of the parish, should not only have whole garments made of this operose manufacture, but likewise, that as soon as they are soil'd, to restore them to their pristine purity, they should make use of one of the most judicious, as well as difficult compositions that chymistry can boast of; with which, dissolved in water by the help of fire, the most detersive, and yet innocent Lixivium is prepar'd, that human industry has hitherto been able to invent.

It is certain, time was, that the thing I ſpeak of would have bore thoſe lofty expreſſions, and in which every body would have reaſon'd after the ſame manner; but the age we live in would call a man fool who ſhould talk of extravagance and nicety, if he ſaw a poor woman, after having wore her crown cloth ſmock a whole week, waſh it with a bit of ſtinking ſoap of a groat a pound.

The arts of brewing, and making bread, have by ſlow degrees been brought to the perfection they now are in; but to have invented them at once, and *a priori*, would have required more knowledge, and a deeper inſight into the nature of fermentation, than the greateſt philoſopher has hitherto been endowed with; yet the fruits of both are now enjoy'd by the meaneſt of our ſpecies, and a ſtarving wretch knows not how to make a more humble, or a more modeſt petition, than by aſking for a bit of bread, or a draught of ſmall beer.

Man has learned by experience, that nothing was ſofter than the ſmall plumes and down of birds, and found that heap'd together they would, by their elaſticity, gently reſiſt any incumbent weight, and heave up again of themſelves as ſoon as the preſſure is over. To make uſe of them to ſleep upon was, no doubt, firſt invented to compliment the vanity, as well as eaſe of the wealthy and potent; but they are long ſince become ſo common, that almoſt every body lyes upon feather-beds, and to ſubſtitute flocks in the room of them is counted a miſerable ſhift of the moſt neceſſitous. What a vaſt height muſt luxury have been arrived to, before it could be reckoned a hardſhip to repoſe upon the ſoft wool of animals!

From

From caves, huts, hovels, tents and barracks, with which mankind took up at first, we are come to warm and well-wrought houses; and the meanest habitations to be seen in cities, are regular buildings, contriv'd by persons skill'd in proportions and architecture. If the ancient Britons and Gauls should come out of their graves, with what amazement would they gaze on the mighty structures every where raised for the poor! Should they behold the magnificence of a Chelsea-College, a Greenwich Hospital, or, what surpasses all them, a *Des Invalides* at Paris, and see the care, the plenty, the superfluities and pomp, which people that have no possessions at all are treated with in those stately palaces; those who were once the greatest and richest of the land, would have reason to envy the most reduced of our species now.

Another piece of luxury the poor enjoy, that is not looked upon as such, and which there is no doubt but the wealthiest in a golden age would abstain from, is their making use of the flesh of animals to eat. In what concerns the fashions and manners of the ages men live in, they never examine into the real worth or merit of the cause, and generally judge of things not as their reason, but custom direct them. Time was when the funeral rites in the disposing of the dead were perform'd by fire, and the cadavers of the greatest emperors were burnt to ashes. Then burying the corpse in the ground was a funeral for slaves, or made a punishment for the worst of malefactors. Now nothing is decent or honourable but interring, and burning the body is reserved for crimes of the blackest dye. At some times we look upon trifles with horror, at other times we can behold enormities without concern. If we see a man

walk with his hat on in a church, though out of service time, it shocks us; but if on a Sunday night we meet half a dozen fellows drunk in the street, the sight makes little or no impression upon us. If a woman at a merry-making dresses in man's clothes, it is reckoned a frolic amongst friends, and he that finds too much fault with it is counted censorious: upon the stage it is done without reproach, and the most virtuous ladies will dispense with it in an actress, tho' every body has a full view of her legs and thighs; but if the same woman, as soon as she has petticoats on again, should show her leg to a man as high as her knee, it would be a very immodest action, and every body will call her impudent for it.

I have often thought, if it was not for this tyranny which custom usurps over us, that men of any tolerable good-nature could never be reconcil'd to the killing of so many animals for their daily food, as long as the bountiful earth so plentifully provides them with varieties of vegetable dainties. I know that reason excites our compassion but faintly. And therefore I would not wonder how men should so little commiserate such imperfect creatures, as cray-fish, oysters, cockles, and indeed all fish in general: as they are mute, and their inward formation, as well as outward figure, vastly different from ours, they express themselves unintelligibly to us, and therefore 'tis not strange that their grief should not affect our understanding, which it cannot reach; for nothing stirs us to pity so effectually, as when the symptoms of misery strike immediately upon our senses, and I have seen people mov'd at the noise a live lobster makes upon the spit, that could have kill'd half a dozen fowls with pleasure. But in such

perfect

perfect animals as sheep and oxen, in whom the heart, the brain, and nerves differ so little from ours, and in whom the separation of the spirits from the blood, the organs of sense, and consequently feeling itself, are the same as they are in human creatures; I can't imagine how a man not hardned in blood and massacre, is able to see a violent death, and the pangs of it without concern.

In answer to this, most people will think it sufficient to say, that all things being allow'd to be made for the service of man, there can be no cruelty in putting creatures to the use they were designed for; but I have heard men make this reply, whilst their nature within them has reproached them with the falsehood of the assertion. There is of all the multitude, not one man in ten but what will own, (if he was not brought up in a slaughter-house) that of all trades he could never have been a Butcher; and I question whether ever any body so much as killed a chicken without reluctancy the first time. Some people are not to be perswaded to taste of any creatures they have daily seen and been acquainted with, whilst they were alive; others extend their scruple no farther than to their own poultry, and refuse to eat what they fed and took care of themselves; yet all of them will feed heartily and without remorse, on beef, mutton, and fowls when they are bought in the market. In this behaviour, methinks, there appears something like a consciousness of guilt; it looks as if they endeavoured to save themselves from the imputation of a crime (which they know sticks somewhere) by removing the cause of it as far as they can from themselves; and I can discover in it some strong remains of primitive pity

and innocence, which all the arbitrary power of cuſtom, and the violence of luxury, have not yet been able to conquer.

What I build upon, I ſhall be told, is a folly that wiſe men are not guilty of: I own it; but whilſt it proceeds from a real paſſion inherent in our nature, it is ſufficient to demonſtrate that we are born with a repugnancy to the killing, and conſequently the eating of animals; for it is impoſſible that a natural appetite ſhould ever prompt us to act, or deſire others to do, what we have an averſion to, be it as fooliſh as it will.

Every body knows, that ſurgeons in the cure of dangerous wounds and fractures, the extirpations of limbs, and other dreadful operations, are often compell'd to put their patients to extraordinary torments, and that the more deſperate and calamitous caſes occur to them, the more the outcries and bodily ſufferings of others muſt become familiar to them; for this reaſon our Engliſh law, out of a moſt affectionate regard to the lives of the ſubjects, allows them not to be of any jury upon life and death, as ſuppoſing that their practice itſelf is ſufficient to harden and extinguiſh in them that tenderneſs, without which no man is capable of ſetting a true value upon the lives of his fellow creatures. Now if we ought to have no concern for what we do to brute beaſts, and there was not imagin'd to be any cruelty in killing them; why ſhould of all callings Butchers, and only they jointly with Surgeons, be excluded from being jury-men by the ſame law?

I ſhall urge nothing of what Pythagoras and many other wiſe men have ſaid concerning this barbarity of eating fleſh; I have gone too much out of my way already, and ſhall therefore beg the

the reader, if he would have any more of this, to run over the following fable, or else, if he be tired, to let it alone, with an assurance that, in doing of either, he shall equally oblige me.

A Roman merchant in one of the Carthaginian wars was cast away upon the coast of Afric: himself and his slave with great difficulty got safe ashore; but going in quest of relief, were met by a lion of a mighty size. It happened to be one of the breed that rang'd in Æsop's days, and one that could not only speak several languages, but seem'd moreover very well acquainted with human affairs. The slave got up on a tree, but his master not thinking himself safe there, and having heard much of the generosity of lions, fell down prostrate before him, with all the signs of fear and submission. The lion, who had lately filled his belly, bids him rise, and for a while lay by his fears, assuring him withal, that he should not be touch'd, if he could give him any tolerable reasons why he should not be devoured. The merchant obeyed; and having now received some glimmering hope of safety, gave a dismal account of the shipwreck he had suffered, and, endeavouring from thence to raise the lion's pity, pleaded his cause with abundance of good rhetoric; but observing by the countenance of the beast that flattery and fine words made very little impression, he betook himself to arguments of greater solidity, and reasoning from the excellency of man's nature and abilities, remonstrated how improbable it was that the gods should not have designed him for a better use than to be eat by savage beasts. Upon this the lion became more attentive, and vouchsafed now and then a reply, till at last the following dialogue ensued between them.

'Oh vain and covetous animal, (said the lion) whose pride and avarice can make him leave his native soil, where his natural wants might be plentifully supplied, and try rough seas and dangerous mountains to find out superfluities, why should you esteem your species above ours? and if the gods have given you a superiority over all creatures, then why beg you of an inferior?' "Our superiority (answer'd the merchant) consists not in bodily force, but strength of understanding; the gods have endued us with a rational soul, which, tho' invisible, is much the better part of us." 'I desire to touch nothing of you but what is good to eat; but why do you value yourself so much upon that part which is invisible?' "Because it is immortal, and shall meet with rewards after death for the actions of this life, and the just shall enjoy eternal bliss and tranquillity with the heroes and demi-gods in the Elysian fields." 'What life have you led?' "I have honoured the gods, and studied to be beneficial to man." 'Then why do you fear death, if you think the gods as just as you have been?' "I have a wife and five small children that must come to want if they lose me." 'I have two whelps that are not big enough to shift for themselves, that are in want now, and must actually be starved if I can provide nothing for them: your children will be provided for one way or other; at least as well when I have eat you, as if you had been drown'd.

'As to the excellency of either species, the value of things among you has ever increas'd with the scarcity of them, and to a million of men there is hardly one lion; besides that, in the great veneration man pretends to have for his kind, there

is

'is little sincerity farther than it concerns the share
'which every one's pride has in it for himself; 'tis
'a folly to boast of the tenderness shewn and at-
'tendance given to your young ones, or the exces-
'sive and lasting trouble bestowed in the education
'of them: man being born the most necessitous and
'most helpless animal, this is only an instinct of
'nature, which in all creatures has ever propor-
'tioned the care of the parents to the wants and
'imbecillities of the off-spring. But if a man had a
'real value for his kind, how is it possible that of-
'ten ten thousand of them, and sometimes ten
'times as many, should be destroyed in few hours
'for the caprice of two? All degrees of men de-
'spise those that are inferior to them, and if you
'could enter into the hearts of kings and princes,
'you would hardly find any but what have less va-
'lue for the greatest part of the multitudes they
'rule over, than those have for the cattle that be-
'long to them. Why should so many pretend to
'derive their race, tho' but spuriously, from the
'immortal gods; why should all of them suffer
'others to kneel down before them, and more or
'less take delight in having divine honours paid
'them, but to insinuate that themselves are of a
'more exalted nature, and a species superior to
'that of their subjects?

'Savage I am, but no creature can be call'd cruel
'but what either by malice or insensibility extin-
'guishes his natural pity: the lion was born with-
'out compassion; we follow the instinct of our na-
'ture; the gods have appointed us to live upon the
'waste and spoil of other animals, and as long as
'we can meet with dead ones, we never hunt after
'the living. 'Tis only man, mischievous man, that
'can make death a sport. Nature taught your sto-

'mach

'mach to crave nothing but vegetables; but your 'violent fondneſs to change, and greater eagerneſs 'after novelties, have promoted you to the deſtruc- 'tion of animals without juſtice or neceſſity, per- 'verted your nature and warped your appetites 'which way ſoever your pride or luxury have cal- 'led them. The lion has a ferment within him 'that conſumes the toughest ſkin and hardeſt bones 'as well as the fleſh of all animals without excep- 'tion, your ſqueamiſh ſtomach, in which the di- 'geſtive heat is weak and inconſiderable, won't ſo 'much as admit of the moſt tender parts of them, 'unleſs above half the concoction has been perfor- 'med by artificial fire before hand; and yet what 'animal have you ſpared to ſatisfy the caprices of a 'languid appetite? languid I ſay; for what is man's 'hunger, if compared to the lions? yours, when it 'is at the worſt, makes you faint, mine makes me 'mad: oft have I tried with roots and herbs to 'allay the violence of it, but in vain; nothing 'but large quantities of fleſh can anywiſe appeaſe 'it.

'Yet the fierceneſs of our hunger notwithſtand- 'ing, lions have often requited benefits received; 'but ungrateful and perfidious man feeds on the 'ſheep that clothes him, and ſpares not her inno- 'cent young ones, whom he has taken into his care 'and cuſtody. If you tell me the gods made man 'maſter over all other creatures, what tyranny 'was it then to deſtroy them out of wantonneſs? 'No, fickle timorous animal, the gods have made 'you for ſociety, and deſign'd that millions of you, 'when well joined together, ſhould compoſe the 'ſtrong Leviathan. A ſingle lion bears ſome ſway 'in the creation, but what is ſingle man? a ſmall 'and inconſiderable part, a trifling atom of one

'great

great breaſt. What nature deſigns ſhe executes, and 'tis not ſafe to judge of what ſhe purpos'd, but from the effects ſhe ſhews: if ſhe had intended that man, as man, from a ſuperiority of ſpecies ſhould lord it over all other animals, the tiger, nay, the whale and eagle would have obeyed his voice.

'But if your wit and underſtanding exceeds ours, ought not the lion in deference to that ſuperiority to follow the maxims of men, with whom nothing is more ſacred than that the reaſon of the ſtrongeſt is ever the moſt prevalent? whole multitudes of you have conſpired and compaſſed the deſtruction of one, after they had owned the gods had made him their ſuperior; and one has often ruined and cut off whole multitudes, whom by the ſame gods he had ſworn to defend and maintain. Man never acknowledged ſuperiority without power, and why ſhould I? the excellency I boaſt of is viſible, all animals tremble at the ſight of the lion, not out of panic fear. The gods have given me ſwiftneſs to overtake, and ſtrength to conquer whatever comes near me. Where is there a creature that has his teeth and claws like mine; behold the thickneſs of theſe maſſy jaw-bones; conſider the width of them, and feel the firmneſs of this brawny neck. The nimbleſt deer, the wildeſt boar, the ſtouteſt horſe, and the ſtrongeſt bull, are my prey wherever I meet them.' Thus ſpoke the lion, and the merchant fainted away.

The lion, in my opinion, has ſtretched the point too far; yet when to ſoften the fleſh of male animals, we have by caſtration prevented the firmneſs their tendons and every fibre would have come to without it, I confeſs I think it ought to move

a human creature when he reflects upon the cruel care with which they are fatned for deſtruction. When a large and gentle bullock, after having reſiſted a ten times greater force of blows than would have killed his murderer, falls ſtun'd at laſt, and his arm'd head faſtened to the ground with cords; as ſoon as the wide wound is made, and the jugulars are cut aſunder, what mortal can, without compaſſion, hear the painful bellowings intercepted by his blood, the bitter ſighs that ſpeak the ſharpneſs of his anguiſh, and the deep ſounding groans with loud anxiety fetched from the bottom of his ſtrong and palpitating heart; look on the trembling and violent convulſions of his limbs; ſee, whilſt his reeking gore ſtreams from him, his eyes become dim and languid, and behold his ſtrugglings, gaſps and laſt efforts for life, the certain ſigns of his approaching fate? When a creature has given ſuch convincing and undeniable proofs of the terrors upon him, and the pains and agonies he feels, is there a follower of DesChartres ſo inur'd to blood, as not to refute, by his commiſeration, the philoſophy of that vain reaſoner?

(Q.) ——— *For frugally*
They now liv'd on their ſalary.

Page 9. Line 32.

WHEN people have ſmall comings in, and are honeſt withal, it is then that the generality of them begin to be frugal, and not before. Frugality

gality in Ethics is called that virtue from the principle of which men abſtain from ſuperfluities, and, deſpiſing the operoſe contrivances of art to procure either eaſe or pleaſure, content themſelves with the natural ſimplicity of things, and are carefully temperate in the enjoyment of them without any tincture of covetouſneſs. Frugality, thus limited, is perhaps ſcarcer than many may imagine; but what is generally underſtood by it is a quality more often to be met with, and conſiſts in a *medium* between profuſeneſs and avarice, rather leaning to the latter. As this prudent œconomy, which ſome people call Saving, is in private families the moſt certain method to encreaſe an eſtate; ſo ſome imagine that whether a country be barren or fruitful, the ſame method, if generally purſued (which they think practicable) will have the ſame effect upon a whole nation, and that, for example, the Engliſh might be much richer than they are, if they would be as frugal as ſome of their neighbours. This, I think, is an error, which to prove I ſhall firſt refer the reader to what has been ſaid upon this head in remark (L.) and then go on thus.

Experience teaches us, firſt, that as people differ in their views and perceptions of things, ſo they vary in their inclinations; one man is given to covetouſneſs, another to prodigality, and a third is only Saving. Secondly, that men are never, or at leaſt very ſeldom, reclaimed from their darling paſſions, either by reaſon or precept, and that if any thing ever draws them from what they are naturally propenſe to, it muſt be a change in their circumſtances or their fortunes. If we reflect upon theſe obſervations, we ſhall find that to render the generality of a nation laviſh, the product of the

the country must be considerable in proportion to the inhabitants, and what they are profuse of cheap; that on the contrary, to make a nation generally frugal, the necessaries of life must be scarce, and consequently dear; and that therefore, let the best politician do what he can, the profuseness or frugality of a people in general, must always depend upon, and will, in spight of his teeth, be ever proportioned to the fruitfulness and product of the country, the number of inhabitants, and the taxes they are to bear. If any body would refute what I have said, let them only prove from history, that there ever was in any country a national frugality without a national necessity.

Let us examine then what things are requisite to aggrandize and enrich a nation. The first desirable blessings for any society of men are a fertile soil and a happy climate, a mild government, and more land than people. These things will render man easy, loving, honest and sincere. In this condition they may be as virtuous as they can, without the least injury to the public, and consequently as happy as they please themselves. But they shall have no arts or sciences, or be quiet longer than their neighbours will let them; they must be poor, ignorant, and almost wholly destitute of what we call the comforts of life, and all the cardinal virtues together won't so much as procure a tolerable coat or a porridge-pot among them: for in this state of slothful ease and stupid innocence, as you need not fear great vices, so you must not expect any considerable virtues. Man never exerts himself but when he is rouz'd by his desires: whilst they ly dormant, and there is nothing to raise them, his excellence and abilities will be for ever undiscovered, and the lumpish machine, without the influence

influence of his passions, may be justly compared to a huge wind-mill without a breath of air.

Would you render a society of men strong and powerful? you must touch their passions. Divide the land, though there be never so much to spare, and their possessions will make them covetous: rouse them, tho' but in jest, from their idleness with prairies, and pride will set them to work in earnest: teach them trades and handicrafts, and you'll bring envy and emulation among them: to encrease their numbers, set up a variety of manufactures, and leave no ground uncultivated; let property be inviolably secured, and privileges equal to all men; suffer no body to act but what is lawful, and every body to think what he pleases; for a country where every body may be maintained that will be employed, and the other maxims are observed, must always be thronged and can never want people, as long as there is any in the world. Would you have them bold and warlike? turn to military discipline, make good use of their fear, and flatter their vanity with art and assiduity: but would you moreover render them an opulent, knowing and polite nation, teach them commerce with foreign countries, and if possible get into the sea, which to compass spare no labour nor industry, and let no difficulty deter you from it: then promote navigation, cherish the merchant, and encourage trade in every branch of it: this will bring riches, and where they are, arts and sciences will soon follow, and by the help of what I have named, and good management, it is that politicians can make a people potent, renown'd and flourishing.

But would you have a frugal and honest society, the best policy is to preserve men in their native simplicity

ſimplicity, ſtrive not to encreaſe their numbers; let them never be acquainted with ſtrangers or ſuperfluities, but remove and keep from them every thing that might raiſe their deſires, or improve their underſtanding.

Great wealth and foreign treaſure will ever ſcorn to come among men, unleſs you'll admit their inſeparable companions, avarice and luxury: where trade is conſiderable fraud will intrude. To be at once well-bred and ſincere, is no leſs than a contradiction; and therefore whilſt man advances in knowledge, and his manners are poliſh'd, we muſt expect to ſee at the ſame time his deſires enlarg'd, his appetites refin'd, and his vices encreas'd.

The Dutch may aſcribe their preſent grandeur to the virtue and frugality of their anceſtors as they pleaſe; but what made that contemptible ſpot of ground ſo conſiderable among the principal powers of Europe, has been their political wiſdom in poſtponing every thing to merchandice and navigation, the unlimited liberty of conſcience that is enjoy'd among them, and the unwearied application with which they have always made uſe of the moſt effectual means to encourage and encreaſe trade in general.

They never were noted for frugality before Philip II. of Spain began to rage over them with that un-heard-of tyranny. Their laws were trampled upon, their rights and large immunities taken from them, and their conſtitution torn to pieces. Several of their chief nobles were condemned and executed without legal form of proceſs. Complaints and remonſtrances were puniſh'd as ſeverely as reſiſtance, and thoſe that eſcaped being maſſacred were plundered by ravenous ſoldiers. As this was intolerable to a people that had always

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been uſed to the mildeſt of governments, and enjoyed greater privileges than any of the neighbouring nations, ſo they choſe rather to die in arms than periſh by cruel executioners. If we conſider the ſtrength Spain had then, and the low circumſtances thoſe diſtreſſed States were in, there never was heard of a more unequal ſtrife; yet ſuch was their fortitude and reſolution, that only ſeven of thoſe provinces uniting themſelves together, maintain'd, againſt the greateſt and beſt-diſciplin'd nation in Europe, the moſt tedious and bloody war that is to be met with in antient or modern hiſtory.

Rather than to become a victim to the Spaniſh fury, they were contented to live upon a third part of their revenues, and lay out far the greateſt part of their income in defending themſelves againſt their mercileſs enemies. Theſe hardſhips and calamities of a war within their bowels, firſt put them upon that extraordinary frugality, and the continuance under the ſame difficulties for above fourſcore years could not but render it cuſtomary and habitual to them. But all their arts of ſaving, and penurious way of living, could never have enabled them to make head againſt ſo potent an enemy, if their induſtry in promoting their fiſhery and navigation in general, had not helped to ſupply the natural wants and diſadvantages they labour'd under.

The country is ſo ſmall and ſo populous, that there is not land enough, though hardly an inch of it is unimprov'd, to feed the tenth part of the inhabitants. Holland itſelf is full of large rivers and lyes lower than the ſea, which would run over it every tide, and waſh it away in one winter, if it was not kept out by vaſt banks and huge walls: the

the repairs of those, as well as their sluices, keys, mills, and other necessaries they are forced to make use of to keep themselves from being drowned, are a greater expence to them one year with another, than could be rais'd by a general land tax of four shillings in the pound, if to be deducted from the neat produce of the landlord's revenue.

Is it a wonder that people under such circumstances, and loaden with greater taxes besides than any other nation, should be obliged to be saving? But why must they be a pattern to others, who besides that they are more happily situated, are much richer within themselves, and have, to the same number of people, above ten times the extent of ground? The Dutch and we often buy and sell at the same markets, and so far our views may be said to be the same: otherwise the interests and political reasons of the two nations, as to the private œconomy of either, are very different. It is their interest to be frugal and spend little; because they must have every thing from abroad, except butter, cheese and fish, and therefore of them, especially the latter, they consume three times the quantity, which the same number of people do here. It is our interest to eat plenty of beef and mutton to maintain the farmer, and further improve our land, of which we have enough to feed ourselves, and as many more, if it was better cultivated. The Dutch perhaps have more shipping, and more ready money than we, but then those are only to be considered as the tools they work with. So a carrier may have more horses than a man of ten times his worth, and a banker that has not above fifteen or sixteen hundred pounds in the world may have generally more ready cash by

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him than a gentleman of two thouſand a year. He that keeps three or four ſtage coaches to get his bread, is to a gentleman that keeps a coach for his pleaſure, what the Dutch are in compariſon to us; having nothing of their own but ſhip, they are carriers and freighters to the reſt of the world, whilſt the baſis of our trade chiefly depends upon our own product.

Another inſtance, that what makes the bulk of the people ſaving, are heavy taxes, ſcarcity of land, and ſuch things as occaſion a dearth of proviſions, may be given from what is obſervable among the Dutch themſelves. In the province of Holland there is a vaſt trade, and an inconceivable treaſure of money. The land is almoſt as rich as dung itſelf, and, as I have ſaid once already, not an inch of it unimprov'd. In Guelderland and Overyſſell there's hardly any trade, and very little money: the ſoil is very indifferent, and abundance of ground lyes waſte. Then what is the reaſon that the ſame Dutch in the two latter provinces, tho' poorer than the firſt, are yet leſs ſtingy and more hoſpitable? nothing but that their taxes in moſt things are leſs extravagant, and in proportion to the number of people, that they have a great deal more ground. What they ſave in Holland, they ſave out of their bellies; it is eatables, drinkables and feuel that their heavieſt taxes are upon, but they wear better clothes, and have richer furniture than you'll find in the other provinces.

Thoſe that are frugal by principle, are ſo in every thing, but in Holland the people are only ſparing in ſuch things as are daily wanted, and ſoon conſumed; in what is laſting they are quite otherwiſe: in pictures and marble they are profuſe; in

in their buildings and gardens they are extravagant to folly. In other countries you may meet with ſtately courts and palaces of great extent that belong to princes, which no body can expect in a commonwealth, where ſo much equality is obſerv'd as there is in this; but in all Europe you ſhall find no private buildings ſo ſumptuouſly magnificent, as a great many of the merchants and other gentlemen's houſes are in Amſterdam, and ſome other great cities of that ſmall province; and the generality of theſe that build there, lay out a greater proportion of their eſtates on the houſes they dwell in, than any people upon the earth.

The nation I ſpeak of was never in greater ſtraits, nor their affairs in a more diſmal poſture ſince they were a republic, than in the year 1671, and the beginning of 1672. What we know of their œconomy and conſtitution with any certainty has been chiefly owing to Sir William Temple, whoſe obſervations upon their manners and government, it is evident from ſeveral paſſages in his memoirs, were made about that time. The Dutch indeed were then very frugal; but ſince thoſe days and that their calamities have not been ſo preſſing, tho' the common people, on whom the principal burden of all exciſes and impoſitions lyes, are perhaps much as they were, a great alteration has been made among the better ſort of people in their equipages, entertainments, and whole manner of living.

Thoſe who would have it that the frugality of that nation flows not ſo much from neceſſity, as a general averſion to vice and luxury, will put us in mind of their public adminiſtration and ſmalneſs of ſalaries, their prudence in bargaining for and buying ſtores and other neceſſaries, the great care they take not to be impoſed upon by thoſe that

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ſerve them, and their ſeverity againſt them that break their contracts. But what they would aſcribe to the virtue and honeſty of miniſters, is wholly due to their ſtrict regulations, concerning the management of the public treaſure from which their admirable form of government will not ſuffer them to depart; and indeed one good man may take another's word, if they ſo agree: but a whole nation ought never to truſt to any honeſty, but what is built upon neceſſity; for unhappy is the people, and their conſtitution will be ever precarious, whoſe welfare muſt depend upon the virtues and conſciences of miniſters and politicians.

The Dutch generally endeavour to promote as much frugality among their ſubjects as 'tis poſſible, not becauſe it is a virtue, but becauſe it is, generally ſpeaking, their intereſt, as I have ſhew'd before; for as this latter changes, ſo they alter their maxims, as will be plain in the following inſtance.

As ſoon as their Eaſt India ſhips come home, the company pays off the men, and many of them receive the greateſt part of what they have been earning in ſeven or eight, and ſome fifteen or ſixteen years time. Theſe poor fellows are encouraged to ſpend their money with all profuſeneſs imaginable; and conſidering that moſt of them, when they ſet out at firſt, were reprobates, that under the tuition of a ſtrict diſcipline, and a miſerable diet, have been ſo long kept at hard labour, without money, in the midſt of danger, it cannot be difficult to make them laviſh as ſoon as they have plenty.

They ſquander away in wine, women and muſic, as much as people of their taſte and educa-

tion are well capable of, and are suffer'd, so they but abstain from doing of mischief, to revel and riot with greater licentiousness than is customary to be allowed to others. You may, in some cities, see them accompanied with three or four lewd women, few of them sober, run roaring through the streets by broad day-light with a fidler before them: and if the money, to their thinking, goes not fast enough these ways, they'll find out others, and sometimes fling it among the mob by handfuls. This madness continues in most of them whilst they have any thing left, which never lasts long; and for this reason, by a nick-name, they are called lords of six weeks, that being generally the time by which the company has other ships ready to depart; where these infatuated wretches, their money being gone, are forced to enter themselves again, and may have leisure to repent their folly.

In this stratagem there is a double policy: first, if these sailors that have been inured to the hot climates and unwholesome air, and diet, should be frugal, and stay in their own country, the company would be continually oblig'd to employ fresh men, of which, besides that they are not so fit for their business, hardly one in two ever lives in some places of the East Indies, which would often prove a great charge as well as disappointment to them. The second is, that the large sums so often distributed among those sailors, are by this means made immediately to circulate throughout the country, from whence, by heavy excises, and other impositions, the greatest part of it is soon drawn back into the public treasure.

To convince the champions for national frugality by another argument, that what they urge is impracticable, we'll suppose that I am mistaken in

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every thing which in Remark (L) I have said in behalf of luxury, and the necessity of it to maintain trade; after that let us examine what a general frugality, if it was by art and management to be forced upon people whether they have occasion for it or not, would produce in such a nation as ours. We'll grant then that all the people in Great Britain shall consume but four fifths of what they do now, and so lay by one fifth part of their income: I shall not speak of what influence this would have upon almost every trade, as well as the farmer, the grazier and the landlord, but favourably suppose, what is yet impossible, that the same work shall be done, and consequently the same handicrafts be employed as there are now. The consequence would be, that unless money should all at once fall prodigiously in value, and every thing else, contrary to reason, grow very dear, at the five years end all the working people, and the poorest of labourers, for I won't meddle with any of the rest, would be worth in ready cash as much as they now spend in a whole year; which, by the by, would be more money than ever the nation had at once.

Let us now, overjoyed with this encrease of wealth, take a view of the condition the working people would be in, and reasoning from experience, and what we daily observe of them, judge what their behaviour would be in such a case. Every body knows that there is a vast number of journeymen weavers, taylors, cloth-workers, and twenty other handicrafts; who, if by four days labour in a week they can maintain themselves, will hardly be perswaded to work the fifth; and that there are thousands of labouring men of all sorts who will, tho' they can hardly subsist, put them-

ſelves to fifty inconveniencies, diſoblige their maſters, pinch their bellies, and run in debt, to make holydays. When men ſhew ſuch an extraordinary proclivity to idleneſs and pleaſure, what reaſon have we to think that they would ever work unleſs they were obliged to it by immediate neceſſity? When we ſee an artificer that cannot be dreve to his work before Tueſday, becauſe the Monday morning he has two ſhillings left of his laſt week's pay; why ſhould we imagine he would go to it at all, if he had fifteen or twenty pounds in his pocket?

What would, at this rate, become of our manufactures? if the merchant would ſend cloth abroad, he muſt make it himſelf, for the clothier cannot get one man out of twelve that uſed to work for him. If what I ſpeak of was only to befal the journeymen ſhoemakers, and no body elſe, in leſs than a twelve month half of us would go barefoot. The chief and moſt preſſing uſe there is for money in a nation, is to pay the labour of the poor, and when there is a real ſcarcity of it, thoſe who have a great many workmen to pay will always feel it firſt; yet notwithſtanding this great neceſſity of coin, it would be eaſier, where property was well ſecured, to live without money than without poor; for who would do the work? for this reaſon the quantity of circulating coin in a country ought always to be proportioned to the number of hands that are employed; and the wages of labourers to the price of proviſions. From whence it is demonſtrable, that whatever procures plenty makes labourers cheap, where the poor are well managed; who as they ought to be kept from ſtarving, ſo they ſhould receive nothing worth ſaving. If here and there one of the low-

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eſt claſs, by uncommon induſtry, and pinching his belly, liſts himſelf above the condition he was brought up in, no body ought to hinder him; nay, it is undeniably the wiſeſt courſe for every perſon in the ſociety, and for every private family, to be frugal; but it is the intereſt of all rich nations, that the greateſt part of the poor ſhould almoſt never be idle, and yet continually ſpend what they get.

All men, as Sir William Temple obſerves very well, are more prone to eaſe and pleaſure, than they are to labour, when they are not prompted to it by pride or avarice, and thoſe that get their living by their daily labour are ſeldom powerfully influenc'd by either: ſo that they have nothing to ſtir them up to be ſerviceable but their wants, which it is prudence to relieve, but folly to cure. The only thing, then, that can render the labouring man induſtrious, is a moderate quantity of money; for as too little will, according as his temper is, either diſpirit or make him deſperate, ſo too much will make him inſolent and lazy.

A man would be laugh'd at by moſt people, who ſhould maintain that too much money could undo a nation: yet this has been the fate of Spain; to this the learned Don Diego Savedra aſcribes the ruin of his country. The fruits of the earth in former ages had made Spain ſo rich, that king Lewis XI. of France being come to the court of Toledo, was aſtoniſh'd at its ſplendour, and ſaid that he had never ſeen any thing to be compar'd to it, either in Europe or Aſia; he that, in his travels to the Holy-Land, had run through every province of them. In the kingdom of Caſtile alone, (if we may believe ſome writers) there were for the Holy War, from all parts of the world got together,

one hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and sixty thousand carriages for baggage, which Alphonso III. maintain'd at his own charge, and paid every day, as well soldiers as officers and princes, every one according to his rank and dignity: nay, down to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, (who equipp'd Columbus) and some time after, Spain was a fertile country, where trade and manufactures flourish'd, and had a knowing industrious people to boast of. But as soon as that mighty treasure, that was obtain'd with more hazard and cruelty than the world till then had known, and which to come at, by the Spaniard's own confession, had cost the lives of twenty millions of Indians; as soon, I say, as that ocean of treasure came rowling in upon them, it took away their senses, and their industry forsook them. The farmer left his plough, the mechanic his tools, the merchant his compting-house, and every body, scorning to work, took his pleasure and turn'd gentleman. They thought they had reason to value themselves above all their neighbours, and now nothing but the conquest of the world would serve them.

The consequence of this has been, that other nations have supply'd what their own sloth and pride deny'd them; and when every body saw, that notwithstanding all the prohibitions the government could make against the exportation of bullion, the Spaniard would part with his money, and bring it you aboard himself at the hazard of his neck; all the world endeavoured to work for Spain. Gold and silver being by this means yearly divided and shared among all the trading countries, have made all things dear, and most nations of Europe industrious, except their own-

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ers, who, ever since their mighty acquisitions, sit with their arms across, and wait every year with impatience and anxiety the arrival of their revenues from abroad, to pay others for what they have spent already: and thus by too much money, the making of colonies and other mismanagements, of which it was the occasion, Spain is, from a fruitful and well-peopled country, with all its mighty titles and possessions, made a barren and empty thorough-fair, thro' which gold and silver pass from America to the rest of the world; and the nation, from a rich, acute, diligent and laborious, become a slow, idle, proud, and beggarly people; so much for Spain. The next country, where money may be called the product, is Portugal, and the figure which that kingdom, with all its gold makes in Europe, I think is not much to be envy'd.

The great art then to make a nation happy, and what we call flourishing, consists in giving every body an opportunity of being employed; which to compass, let a government's first care be to promote as great a variety of manufactures, arts and handicrafts, as human wit can invent; and the second to encourage agriculture and fishery in all their branches, that the whole earth may be forc'd to exert itself as well as man; for as the one is an infallible maxim to draw vast multitudes of people into a nation, so the other is the only method to maintain them.

It is from this policy, and not the trifling regulations of laviſhness and frugality, (which will ever take their own course, according to the circumstances of the people) that the greatness and felicity of nations must be expected; for let the value of gold and silver either rise or fall, the

enjoyment of all societies will ever depend upon the fruits of the earth, and the labour of the people; both which joined together are a more certain, a more inexhaustible, and a more real treasure, than the gold of Brasil, or the silver of Potosi.

(R.) No honour now, &c.

Page 10. Line 11.

HONOUR in its figurative sense is a chimera without truth or being, an invention of moralists and politicians, and signifies a certain principle of virtue not related to religion, found in some men that keeps them closs to their duty and engagements whatever they be: as for example; a man of honour enters into a conspiracy with others to murder a king; he is obliged to go thro' stitch with it; and if, overcome by remorse or good-nature, he startles at the enormity of his purpose, discovers the plot, and turns a witness against his accomplices, he then forfeits his honour, at least among the party he belonged to. The excellency of this principle is, that the vulgar are destitute of it, and it is only to be met with in people of the better sort, as some oranges have kernels, and others not, tho' the out-side be the same. In great families it is like the gout, generally counted hereditary, and all lords children are born with it. In some that never felt any thing of it, it is acquired by conversation and

and reading, (especially of romances) in other by preferment; but there is nothing that encourages the growth of it more than a sword, and upon the first wearing of one some people have felt considerable shoots of it in four and twenty hours.

The chief and most important care a man of honour ought to have, is the preservation of this principle; and, rather than forfeit it, he must lose his employments and estate, nay, life itself; for which reason, whatever humility he may shew by way of good-breeding, he is allow'd to put an inestimable value upon himself, as a possessor of this invisible ornament. The only method to preserve this principle, is to live up to the rules of honour, which are laws he is to walk by: himself is obliged always to be faithful to his trust, to prefer the public interest to his own, not to tell lies, nor defraud or wrong any body, and from others to suffer no affront, which is a term of art for every action designedly done to undervalue him.

The men of antient honour, of which I reckon Don Quixote to have been the last upon record, were very nice observers of all these laws, and a great many more than I have named: but the moderns seem to be more remiss; they have a profound veneration for the last of them, but they pay not an equal obedience to any of the other; and whoever will but strictly comply with that I hint at, shall have abundance of trespasses against all the rest conniv'd at.

A man of honour is always counted impartial, and a man of sense of course; for no body ever heard of a man of honour that was a fool; for this reason, he has nothing to do with the law,

and is always allow'd to be a judge in his own case; and if the least injury be done either to himself or his friend, his relation, his servant, his dog, or any thing which he is pleased to take under his honourable protection, satisfaction must be forthwith demanded; and, if it proves an affront, and he that gave it likewise a man of honour, a battle must ensue. From all this it is evident, that a man of honour must be possessed of courage, and that without it his other principle would be no more than a sword without a point. Let us therefore examine what courage consists in, and whether it be, as most people would have it, a real something that valiant men have in their nature, distinct from all their other qualities or not.

There is nothing so universally sincere upon earth, as the love which all creatures, that are capable of any, bear to themselves; and as there is no love but what implies a care to preserve the thing beloved, so there is nothing more sincere in any creature than his will, wishes, and endeavours to preserve himself. This is the law of nature, by which no creature is endowed with any appetite or passion but what either directly or indirectly tends to the preservation either of himself or his species.

The means by which nature obliges every creature continually to stir in this business of self-preservation, are grafted in him, and (in man) call'd desires, which either compel him to crave what he thinks will sustain or please him, or command him to avoid what he imagines might displease, hurt, or destroy him. These desires or passions have all their different symptoms by which they manifest themselves to those they disturb, and from that variety of disturbances they make within

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in us, their various denominations have been given them, as has been shewn already in pride and shame.

The passion that is rais'd in us when we apprehend that mischief is approaching us, is call'd fear: the disturbance it makes within us is always more or less violent in proportion, not of the danger, but our apprehension of the mischief dreaded, whether real or imaginary. Our fear then being always proportion'd to the apprehension we have of the danger, it follows, that whilst that apprehension lasts, a man can no more shake off his fear, than he can a leg or an arm. In a fright, it is true, the apprehension of danger is so sudden, and attacks us so livelily, (as sometimes to take away reason and senses) that when 'tis over we often don't remember that we had any apprehension at all; but from the event 'tis plain we had it, for how could we have been frightned, if we had not apprehended that some evil or other was coming upon us?

Most people are of opinion that this apprehension is to be conquer'd by reason, but I confess I am not: those that have been frighten'd will tell you, that as soon as they could recollect themselves, that is, make use of their reason, their apprehension was conquer'd. But this is no conquest at all, for in a fright the danger was either altogether imaginary, or else it is past by that time they can make use of their reason; and therefore if they find there is no danger, it is no wonder that they should not apprehend any: but when the danger is permanent, let them then make use of their reason, and they'll find, that it may serve them to examine the greatness and reality of the danger, and that if they find it less than they

imagined, the apprehenſion will be leſſened accordingly; but if the danger proves real, and the ſame in every circumſtance as they took it to be at firſt, then their reaſon, inſtead of diminiſhing, will rather increaſe, their apprehenſion. Whilſt this fear laſts, no creature can fight offenſively; and yet we ſee brutes daily fight obſtinately, and worry one another to death; ſo that ſome other paſſion muſt be able to overcome this fear, and the moſt contrary to it is anger; which, to trace to the bottom, I muſt beg leave to make another digreſſion.

No creature can ſubſiſt without food, nor any ſpecies of them (I ſpeak of the more perfect animals) continue long unleſs young ones are continually born as faſt as the old ones die. Therefore the firſt and fierceſt appetite that nature has given them is hunger, the next is luſt; the one prompting them to procreate, as the other bids them eat. Now, if we obſerve that anger is that paſſion which is raiſed in us when we are croſſed or diſturbed in our deſires, and that, as it ſums up all the ſtrength in creatures, ſo it was given them, that by it they might exert themſelves more vigorouſly, in endeavouring to remove, overcome, or deſtroy whatever obſtructs them in the purſuit of ſelf-preſervation; we ſhall find that brutes, unleſs themſelves or what they love, or the liberty of either are threatened or attacked, have nothing worth notice that can move them to anger but Hunger or Luſt. 'Tis they that make them more fierce, for we muſt obſerve, that the appetites of creatures are as actually croſs'd, whilſt they want and cannot meet with what they deſire (tho' perhaps with leſs violence) as when hindred from enjoying what they have in view. What I have ſaid will appear more plainly,

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if we but mind what no body can be ignorant of, which is this: all creatures upon earth live either upon the fruits and product of it, or else the flesh of other animals, their fellow-creatures. The latter, which we call beasts of prey, nature has arm'd accordingly, and given them weapons and strength to overcome and tear asunder those whom she has designed for their food, and likewise a much keener appetite than to other animals that live upon herbs, &c. For as to the first, if a cow loved mutton as well as she does grass, being made as she is, and having no claws or talons, and but one row of teeth before, that are all of an equal length, she would be starved even among a flock of sheep. Secondly, as to their voraciousness, if experience did not teach it us, our reason might: In the first place, it is highly probable that the hunger which can make a creature fatigue, harrass and expose himself to danger for every bit he eats, is more piercing than that which only bids him eat what stands before him, and which he may have for stooping down. In the second, it is to be considered, that as beasts of prey have an instinct by which they learn to crave, trace, and discover those creatures that are good food for them; so the others have likewise an instinct that teaches them to shun, conceal themselves, and run away from those that hunt after them: from hence it must follow, that beasts of prey, tho' they could almost eat for ever, go yet more often with empty bellies than other creatures, whose victuals neither fly from nor oppose them. This must perpetuate as well as encrease their hunger, which hereby becomes a constant fuel to their anger.

If you ask me what stirs up this anger in bulls and cocks that will fight to death, and yet are neither

neither animals of prey nor very voracious, I answer, Luſt. Thoſe creatures, whoſe rage proceeds from hunger, both male and female, attack every thing they can maſter, and fight obſtinately againſt all: but the animals, whoſe fury is provoked by a venereal ferment, being generally males, exert themſelves chiefly againſt other males of the ſame ſpecies. They may do miſchief by chance to other creatures; but the main objects of their hatred are their rivals, and it is againſt them only that their proweſs and fortitude are ſhewn. We ſee likewiſe in all thoſe creatures of which the male is able to ſatisfy a great number of females, a more conſiderable ſuperiority in the male expreſs'd by nature in his make and features as well as fierceneſs, than is obſerved in other creatures, where the male is contented with one or two females. Dogs, tho' become domeſtic animals, are ravenous to a proverb, and thoſe of them that will fight being carnivorous, would ſoon become beaſts of prey, if not fed by us; what we may obſerve in them is an ample proof of what I have hitherto advanced. Thoſe of a true fighting breed, being voracious creatures, both male and female will faſten upon any thing, and ſuffer themſelves to be kill'd before they give over. As the female is rather more ſalacious than the male, ſo there is no difference in their make at all, what diſtinguiſhes the ſexes excepted, and the female is rather the fierceſt of the two. A bull is a terrible creature when he is is kept up, but where he has twenty or more cows to range among, in a little time he'll become as tame as any of them, and a dozen hens will ſpoil the beſt game cock in England. Harts and deer are counted chaſte and timorous creatures, and ſo indeed they are almoſt all the year long,

except

except in rutting time, and then on a ſudden they become bold to admiration, and often make at the keepers themſelves.

That the influence of thoſe two principal appetites, hunger and luſt, upon the temper of animals, is not ſo whimſical as ſome may imagine, may be partly demonſtrated from what is obſervable in ourſelves; for tho' our hunger is infinitely leſs violent than that of wolves and other ravenous creatures, yet we ſee that people who are in health, and have a tolerable ſtomach, are more fretful, and ſooner put out of humour for trifles when they ſtay for their victuals beyond their uſual hours, than at any other time. And again, tho' luſt in man is not ſo raging as it is in bulls and other ſalacious creatures; yet nothing provokes men and women both ſooner and more violently to anger, than what croſſes their amours, when they are heartily in love; and the moſt fearful and tenderly educated of either ſex have ſlighted the greateſt dangers, and ſet aſide all other conſiderations to compaſs the deſtruction of a rival.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to demonſtrate, that no creature can fight offenſively as long as his fear laſts; that fear cannot be conquered but by another paſſion; that the moſt contrary to it, and moſt effectual to overcome it is anger; that the two principal appetites which diſappointed can ſtir up this laſt-named paſſion are Hunger and Luſt, and that in all brute beaſts the proneneſs to anger and obſtinacy in fighting generally depend upon the violence of either or both thoſe appetites together: from whence it muſt follow, that what we call proweſs or natural courage in creatures, is nothing but the effect of anger, and that all fierce animals

animals must be either very ravenous or very lustful, if not both.

Let us now examine what by this rule we ought to judge of our own species. From the tenderness of man's skin, and the great care that is required for years together to rear him; from the make of his jaws, the evenness of his teeth; the breadth of his nails, and the slightness of both, it is not probable that nature should have designed him for rapine; for this reason, his hunger is not voracious as it is in beasts of prey, neither is he so salacious as other animals that are called so, and being besides very industrious to supply his wants, he can have no reigning appetite to perpetuate his anger, and must consequently be a timorous animal.

What I have said last must only be understood of man in his savage state; for if we examine him as a member of a society and a taught animal, we shall find him quite another creature: as soon as his pride has room to play, and envy, avarice and ambition begin to catch hold of him, he is roused from his natural innocence and stupidity. As his knowledge encreases, his desires are enlarged, and consequently his wants and appetites are multiplied: hence it must follow, that he will be often crossed in the pursuit of them, and meet with abundance more disappointment to stir up his anger in this than his former condition, and man would in a little time become the most hurtful and noxious creature in the world, if let alone, whenever he could over-power his adversary, if he had no mischief to fear but from the person that angered him.

The first care therefore of all governments is by severe punishments to curb his anger when it

dogs

does hurt, and so, by encreasing his fears, prevent the mischief it might produce. When various laws to restrain him from using force are strictly executed, self preservation must teach him to be peaceable; and as it is every body's business to be as little disturbed as is possible, his fears will be continually augmented and enlarged as he advances in experience, understanding and foresight. The consequence of this must be, that as the provocations he will receive to anger will be infinite in the civilized state, so his fears to damp it will be the same, and thus in a little time he'll be taught by his fears to destroy his anger, and by art to consult in an opposite method the same self-preservation for which nature before had furnished him with anger, as well as the rest of his passions.

The only useful passion then that man is possessed of toward the peace and quiet of a society, is his fear, and the more you work upon it, the more orderly and governable he'll be; for how useful soever anger may be to man, as he is a single creature by himself, yet the society has no manner of occasion for it: but nature being always the same, in the formation of animals, produces all creatures as like to those that beget and bear them as the place she forms them in, and the various influences from without, will give her leave, and consequently all men, whether they are born in courts or forests, are susceptible of anger. When this passion overcomes, (as among all degrees of people it sometimes does) the whole sett of fears man has, he has true courage, and will fight as boldly as a lion or a tyger, and at no other time; and I shall endeavour to prove, that whatever is called courage in man, when he is not angry, is spurious and artificial.

It is possible by good government to keep a society always quiet in itself, but no body can ensure peace from without for ever. The society may have occasion to extend their limits further, and enlarge their territories, or others may invade theirs, or something else will happen that man must be brought to fight; for how civilized soever men may be, they never forget that force goes beyond reason: the politician now must alter his measures, and take off some of man's fears; he must strive to persuade him, that all what was told him before of the barbarity of killing men ceases as soon as these men are enemies to the public, and that their adversaries are neither so good nor so strong as themselves. These things well managed will seldom fail of drawing the hardiest, the most quarrelsome, and the most mischievous into combat; but unless they are better qualified, I won't answer for their behaviour there: if once you can make them undervalue their enemies, you may soon stir them up to anger, and while that lasts they'll fight with greater obstinacy than any disciplin'd troops: but if any thing happens that was unforeseen, and a sudden great noise, a tempest, or any strange or uncommon accident that seems to threaten them, interveens, fear seizes them, disarms their anger, and makes them run away to a man.

This natural courage therefore, as soon as people begin to have more wit, must be soon exploded. In the first place, those that have felt the smart of the enemy's blows, won't always believe what is said to undervalue him, and are often not easily provok'd to anger. Secondly, anger consisting in ebullition of the spirits is a passion of no long continuance *(ira furor brevis est)* and the enemies, if

if they withſtand the firſt ſhock of theſe angry people, have commonly the better of it. Thirdly, as long as people are angry, all counſel and diſcipline are loſt upon them, and they can never be brought to uſe art or conduct in their battles. Anger then, without which no creature has natural courage, being altogether uſeleſs in a war to be manag'd by ſtratagem, and brought into a regular art, the government muſt find out an equivalent for courage that will make men fight.

Whoever would civilize men, and eſtabliſh them into a body politic, muſt be thoroughly acquainted with all the paſſions and appetites, ſtrength and weakneſſes of their frame, and underſtand how to turn their greateſt frailties to the advantage of the public. In the enquiry into the origin of moral virtue, I have ſhewn how eaſily men were induc'd to believe any thing that is ſaid in their praiſe. If therefore a law-giver or politician, whom they have a great veneration for, ſhould tell them, that the generality of men had within them a principle of valour diſtinct from anger, or any other paſſion, that made them to deſpiſe danger, and face death itſelf with intrepidity, and that they who had the moſt of it were the moſt valuable of their kind, it is very likely, conſidering what has been ſaid, that moſt of them, though they felt nothing of this principle, would ſwallow it for truth, and that the proudeſt feeling themſelves mov'd at this piece of flattery, and not well vers'd in diſtinguiſhing the paſſions, might imagine that they felt it heaving in their breaſts, by miſtaking pride for courage. If but one in ten can be perſuaded openly to declare, that he is poſſeſs'd of this principle, and maintain it againſt all gainſayers, there will ſoon be half a dozen that ſhall aſſert the ſame. Whoever

ever has once own'd it is engaged, the politician has nothing to do but to take all imaginable care to flatter the pride of thoſe that brag of, and are willing to ſtand by it, a thouſand different ways: the ſame pride that drew him in firſt will ever after oblige him to defend the aſſertion, till at laſt the fear of diſcovering the reality of his heart comes to be ſo great that it out-does the fear of death itſelf. Do but encreaſe man's pride, and his fear of ſhame will ever be proportion'd to it; for the greater value a man ſets upon himſelf, the more pains he'll take, and the greater hardſhips he'll undergo to avoid ſhame.

The great art then to make man couragious, is firſt to make him own this principle of valour within, and afterwards to inſpire him with as much horror againſt ſhame, as nature has given him againſt death; and that there are things to which man has, or may have a ſtronger averſion than he has to death, is evident from ſuicide. He that makes death his choice, muſt look upon it as leſs terrible than what he ſhuns by it; for whether the evil dreaded be preſent or to come, real or imaginary, no body would kill himſelf wilfully but to avoid ſomething. Lucretia held out bravely againſt all the attacks of the raviſher, even when he threatened her life; which ſhews that ſhe valued her virtue beyond it: but when he threaten'd her reputation with eternal infamy, ſhe fairly ſurrendered, and then ſlew herſelf; a certain ſign that ſhe valued her virtue leſs than her glory, and her life leſs than either. The fear of death did not make her yield, for ſhe reſolved to die before ſhe did it, and her compliance muſt only be conſidered as a bribe to make Tarquin forbear ſullying her reputation; ſo that life had neither

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the first nor the second place in the esteem of Lucretia. The courage then which is only useful to the body politic, and what is generally called true valour, is artificial, and consists "in a superlative "horror against shame, by Flattery infused into "men of exalted Pride."

As soon as the notions of honour and shame are received among a society, it is not difficult to make men fight. First, take care they are perswaded of the justice of their cause; for no man fights heartily that thinks himself in the wrong: then shew them that their altars, their possessions, wives, children, and every thing that is near and dear to them, is concerned in the present quarrel, or at least may be influenced by it hereafter: then put feathers in their caps, and distinguish them from others, talk of public-spiritedness, the love of their country, facing an enemy with intrepidity, despising death, the bed of honour, and such like high-sounding words, and every proud man will take up arms and fight himself to death before he'll turn tail, if it be by day light. One man in an army is a check upon another, and a hundred of them that single and without witness would be all cowards, are, for fear of incurring one another's contempt, made valiant by being together. To continue and heighten this artificial courage, all that run away ought to be punished with ignominy; those that fought well, whether they did beat or were beaten, must be flattered and solemnly commended; those that lost their limbs, rewarded; and those that were kill'd ought, above all, to be taken notice of, artfully lamented, and to have extraordinary encomiums bestowed upon them; for to pay honours to the dead will ever be a sure method to make bubbles of the living.

When

When I say that the courage made use of in the wars is artificial, I don't imagine that by the same art all men may be made equally valiant: as men have not an equal share of pride, and differ from one another in shape and inward structure, it is impossible they should be all equally fit for the same uses. Some men will never be able to learn music, and yet make good mathematicians; others will play excellently well upon the violin, and yet be coxcombs as long as they live, let them converse with whom they please. But to shew that there is no evasion, I shall prove, that setting aside what I said of artificial courage already, what the greatest hero differs in from the rankest coward is altogether corporeal, and depends upon the inward make of man. What I mean is call'd constitution; by which is understood the orderly or disorderly mixture of the fluids in our body: that constitution which favours courage, consists in the natural strength, elasticity, and due contexture of the finer spirits, and upon them wholly depends what we call stedfastness, resolution and obstinacy. It is the only ingredient that is common to natural and artificial bravery, and is to either what size is to white walls, which hinders them from coming off, and makes them lasting. That some people are very much, others very little frighten'd at things that are strange and sudden to them, is likewise altogether owing to the firmness or imbecillity in the tone of the spirits. Pride is of no use in a fright, because whilst it lasts we can't think, which, being counted a disgrace, is the reason people are always angry with any thing that frightens them, as soon as the surprize is over; and when at the turn of a battle the conquerors give no quarter, and are very cruel, it is a sign

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their enemies fought well, and had put them first into great fears.

That resolution depends upon this tone of the spirits, appears likewise from the effects of strong liquors, the fiery particles whereof crowding into the brain, strengthen the spirits; their operation imitates that of anger, which I said before was an ebullition of the spirits. It is for this reason that most people, when they are in drink, are sooner touch'd and more prone to anger than at other times, and some raving mad without any provocation at all. It is likewise observed, that brandy makes men more quarrelsome at the same pitch of drunkenness than wine; because the spirits of distill'd waters have abundance of fiery particles mixt with them, which the other has not. The contexture of spirits is so weak in some, that though they have pride enough, no art can ever make them fight, or overcome their fears; but this is a defect in the principle of the fluids, as other deformities are faults of the solids. These pusilanimous people are never thoroughly provok'd to anger, where there is any danger, and drinking ever makes them bolder, but seldom so resolute as to attack any, unless they be women or children, or such who they know dare not resist. This constitution is often influenced by health and sickness, and impair'd by great losses of blood; sometimes it is corrected by diet; and it is this which the duke *de la Rochefoucault* means when he says; "vanity, shame, and above all Constitution, make "up very often the courage of men and virtue of "women."

There is nothing that more improves the useful martial courage I treat of, and at the same time shews it to be artificial, than practice; for when men

men are disciplin'd, come to be acquainted with all the tools of death and engines of destruction, when the shouts, the outcries, the fire and smoak, the groans of wounded, and ghastly looks of dying men, with all the various scenes of mangled carcasses, and bloody limbs tore off, begin to be familiar to them, their fears abate apace; not that they are now less afraid to die than before, but being used so often to see the same dangers, they apprehend the reality of them less than they did: as they are deservedly valued for every siege they are at, and every battle they are in, it is impossible but the several actions they share in must continually become as many solid steps by which their pride mounts up, and thus their fear of shame, which, as I said before, will always be proportion'd to their pride, encreasing as the apprehension of the danger decreases, it is no wonder that most of them learn to discover little or no fear; and some great generals are able to preserve a presence of mind, and counterfeit a calm serenity within the midst of all the noise, horror, and confusion that attend a battle.

So silly a creature is man, as that, intoxicated with the fumes of vanity, he can feast on the thoughts of the praises that shall be paid his memory in future ages with so much ecstasy, as to neglect his present life, nay, court and covet death, if he but imagines that it will add to the glory he had acquired before. There is no pitch of self-denial that a man of pride and constitution cannot reach, nor any passion so violent but he'll sacrifice to another which is superior to it; and here I cannot but admire at the simplicity of some good men, who, when they hear of the joy and alacrity with which holy men in perse-

cutions

cutions have suffer'd for their faith, imagine that such constancy must exceed all human force, unless it was supported by some miraculous assistance from heaven. As most people are unwilling to acknowledge all the frailties of their species, so they are unacquainted with the strength of our nature, and know not that some men of firm constitution may work themselves up into enthusiasm by no other help than the violence of their passions; yet it is certain, that there have been men who, only assisted with pride and constitution to maintain the worst of causes, have undergone death and torments with as much chearfulness as the best of men, animated with piety and devotion, ever did for the true religion.

To prove this assertion, I could produce many instances; but one or two will be sufficient. Jordanus Bruno of Nola, who wrote that silly piece of blasphemy, call'd *Spaccio della Bestia trionphante*, and the infamous Vanini, were both executed for openly professing and teaching of atheism: the latter might have been pardon'd the moment before the execution, if he would have retracted his doctrine; but rather than recant, he chose to be burnt to ashes. As he went to the stake, he was so far from shewing any concern, that he held his hand out to a physician whom he happened to know, desiring him to judge of the calmness of his mind by the regularity of his pulse, and from thence taking an opportunity of making an impious comparison, uttered a sentence too execrable to be mentioned. To these we may join one Mahomet Effendi, who, as Sir Paul Ricaut tells us, was put to death at Constantinople, for having advanced some notions against the existence of a God. He likewise might have sav'd his life

by confeſſing his error, and renouncing it for the future, but choſe rather to perſiſt in his blaſphemies, ſaying, 'Tho' he had no reward to expect, 'the love of truth conſtrain'd him to ſuffer martyrdom in its defence.'

I have made this digreſſion chiefly to ſhew the ſtrength of human nature, and what mere man may perform by pride and conſtitution alone. Man may certainly be as valiantly rouz'd by his vanity, as a lion is by his anger; and not only this, avarice, revenge, ambition, and almoſt every paſſion, pity not excepted, when they are extraordinary, may, by overcoming fear, ſerve him inſtead of valour, and be miſtaken for it even by himſelf; as daily experience muſt teach every body that will examine and look into the motives from which ſome men act. But that we may more clearly perceive what this pretended principle is really built upon, let us look into the management of military affairs, and we ſhall find, that pride is no where ſo openly encouraged as there. As for clothes, the very loweſt of the commiſſion officers have them richer, or at leaſt more gay and ſplendid, than are generally wore by other people of four or five times their income. Moſt of them, and eſpecially thoſe that have families, and can hardly ſubſiſt, would be very glad, all Europe over, to be leſs expenſive that way; but it is a force put upon them to uphold their pride, which they don't think on.

But the ways and means to rouze man's pride, and catch him by it, are no where more groſly conſpicuous, than in the treatment which the common ſoldiers receive, whoſe vanity is to be worked upon (becauſe there muſt be ſo many) at the cheapeſt rate imaginable. Things we are accuſtomed

ſtomed to we don't mind, or elſe what mortal that never had ſeen a ſoldier, could look without laughing, upon a man accoutred with ſo much paultry gaudineſs and affected finery? The coarſeſt manufacture that can be made of wool, dy'd of a brick-duſt colour, goes down with him, becauſe it is in imitation of ſcarlet or crimſon cloth, and to make him think himſelf as like his officer as 'tis poſſible with little or no coſt, inſtead of ſilver or gold lace, his hat is trimm'd with white or yellow worſted, which in others would deſerve Bedlam; yet theſe fine allurements, and the noiſe made upon a calf's ſkin, have drawn in, and been the deſtruction of more men in reality, than all the killing eyes and bewitching voices of women ever ſlew in jeſt. To day the ſwine-herd puts on his red coat, and believes every body in earneſt that calls him gentleman, and two days after ſerjeant Kite gives him a ſwinging wrap with his cane, for holding his muſket an inch higher than he ſhould do. As to the real dignity of the employment, in the two laſt wars, officers, when recruits were wanted, were allow'd to liſt fellows convicted of burglary and other capital crimes, which ſhews that to be made a ſoldier is deemed to be a preferment next to hanging. A trooper is yet worſe than a foot ſoldier; for when he is moſt at eaſe, he has the mortification of being groom to a horſe that ſpends more money than himſelf. When a man reflects on all this, the uſage they generally receive from their officers, their pay, and the care that is taken of them, when they are not wanted, muſt he not wonder how wretches can be ſo ſilly as to be proud of being called Gentlemen Soldiers? Yet if there were not, no art, diſcipline or money would be

capable of making them so brave as thousands of them are.

If we will mind what effects man's bravery, without any other qualifications to sweeten him, would have out of an army, we shall find that it would be very pernicious to the civil society; for if man could conquer all his fears, you would hear of nothing but rapes, murders, and violences of all sorts, and valiant men would be like giants in romances: politics therefore discovered in men a mixt-mettle principle, which was a compound of justice, honesty, and all the moral virtues join'd to courage, and all that were possessed of it turned knights-errant of course. They did abundance of good throughout the world, by taming monsters, delivering the distressed, and killing the oppressors: but the wings of all the dragons being clipt, the giants destroyed, and the damsels every where set at liberty, except some few in Spain and Italy, who remained still captivated by their monsters, the order of chivalry, to whom the standard of ancient honour belonged, has been laid aside some time. It was like their armours very massy and heavy; the many virtues about it made it very troublesome, and, as ages grew wiser and wiser, the principle of honour in the beginning of the last century was melted over again, and brought to a new standard; they put in the same weight of courage, half the quantity of honesty, and a very little justice, but not a scrape of any other virtue, which has made it very easy and portable to what it was. However, such as it is, there would be no living without it in a large nation; it is the tye of society, and tho' we are beholden to our frailties for the chief ingredient of it, there is no virtue, at least that I am

am acquainted with, that has been half so instrumental to the civilizing of mankind, who in great societies would soon degenerate into cruel villains and treacherous slaves, were honour to be removed from among them.

As to the duelling part which belongs to it, I pity the unfortunate whose lot it is; but to say, that those who are guilty of it go by false rules, or mistake the notions of honour, is ridiculous; for either there is no honour at all, or it teaches men to resent injuries and accept of challenges. You may as well deny that it is the fashion what you see every body wear, as to say that demanding and giving satisfaction is against the laws of true honour. Those that rail at duelling, don't consider the benefit the society receives from that fashion: if every ill-bred fellow might use what language he pleas'd, without being call'd to an account for it, all conversation would be spoil'd. Some grave people tell us, that the Greeks and Romans were such valiant men, and yet knew nothing of duelling, but in their country's quarrel: this is very true, but for that reason the kings and princes in Homer gave one another worse language than our porters and hackney coachmen would be able to bear without resentment.

Would you hinder duelling, pardon no body that offends that way, and make the laws against it as severe as you can, but don't take away the thing itself, the custom of it. This will not only prevent the frequency of it, but likewise by rendering the most resolute and most powerful cautious and circumspect in their behaviour, polish and brighten society in general. Nothing civilizes a man equally as his fear, and if not all, (as my Lord Rochester said) at least most men would

be cowards if they durſt: the dread of being called to an account keeps abundance in awe, and there are thouſands of mannerly and well accompliſhed gentlemen in Europe, who would have been inſolent and inſupportable coxcombs without it; beſides, if it was out of faſhion to aſk ſatisfaction for injuries which the law cannot take hold of, there would be twenty times the miſchief done there is now, or elſe you muſt have twenty times the conſtables and other officers to keep the peace. I confeſs that, tho' it happens but ſeldom, it is a calamity to the people, and generally the families it falls upon; but there can be no perfect happineſs in this world, and all felicity has an allay. The act itſelf is uncharitable, but when above thirty in a nation deſtroy themſelves in one year, and not half that number are killed by others, I don't think the people can be ſaid to love their neighbours worſe than themſelves. It is ſtrange that a nation ſhould grudge to ſee perhaps half a dozen men ſacrificed in a twelve-month, to obtain ſo valuable a bleſſing as the politeneſs of manners, the pleaſure of converſation, and the happineſs of company in general, that is often ſo willing to expoſe, and ſometimes loſes as many thouſands in a few hours, without knowing whether it will do any good or not.

I would have no body, that reflects on the mean original of honour, complain of being gull'd and made a property by cunning politicians, but deſire every body to be ſatisfied, that the governors of ſocieties and thoſe in high ſtations are greater bubbles to pride than any of the reſt. If ſome great men had not a ſuperlative pride, and every body underſtood the enjoyment of life, who would be a lord chancellor of England, a prime miniſter of

ſtate

ſtate in France, or what gives more fatigue, and not a ſixth part of the profit of either, a grand penſionary of Holland? The reciprocal ſervices which all men pay to one another, are the foundation of the ſociety. The great ones are not flattered with their high birth for nothing; 'tis to rouze their pride, and excite them to glorious actions, that we extol their race, whether it deſerves it or not; and ſome men have been complimented with the greatneſs of their family, and the merit of their anceſtors, when in the whole generation you could not find two but what were uxorious fools, ſilly bigots, noted poltroons, or debauched whoremaſters. The eſtabliſhed pride that is inſeparable from thoſe that are poſſeſſed of titles already, makes them often ſtrive as much not to ſeem unworthy of them, as the working ambition of others that are yet without, renders them induſtrious and indefatigable to deſerve them. When a gentleman is made a baron or an earl, it is as great a check upon him in many reſpects, as a gown and caſſock are to a young ſtudent that has been newly taken into orders.

The only thing of weight that can be ſaid againſt modern honour is, that it is directly oppoſite to religion. The one bids you bear injuries with patience, the other tells you if you don't reſent them, you are not fit to live. Religion commands you to leave all revenge to God, honour bids you truſt your revenge to no body but yourſelf, even where the law would do it for you: religion plainly forbids murder, honour openly juſtifies it: religion bids you not ſhed blood upon any account whatever, honour bids you fight for the leaſt trifle: religion is built on humility, and honour upon

pride. How to reconcile them must be left to wiser heads than mine.

The reason why there are so few men of real virtue, and so many of real honour, is, because all the recompence a man has of a virtuous action, is the pleasure of doing it; which most people reckon but poor pay; but the self-denial a man of honour submits to in one appetite, is immediately rewarded by the satisfaction he receives from another, and what he abates of his avarice, or any other passion is doubly repaid to his pride: besides, honour gives large grains of allowance, and virtue none. A man of honour must not cheat or tell a lye; he must punctually repay what he borrows at play, tho' the creditor has nothing to shew for it; but he may drink, and swear, and owe money to all the tradesmen in town, without taking notice of their dunning. A man of honour must be true to his prince and country, whilst he is in their service; but if he thinks himself not well used, he may quit it, and do them all the mischief he can. A man of honour must never change his religion for interest, but he may be as debauched as he pleases, and never practise any. He must make no attempts upon his friend's wife, daughter, sister, or any body that is trusted to his care, but he may ly with all the world besides.

(S.) *No limner for his art is fam'd,*
Stone-cutters, carvers are not nam'd.

Page 11. Line 7.

IT is, without doubt, that among the conſequences of a national honeſty and frugality, it would be one not to build any new houſes, or uſe new materials as long as there were old ones enough to ſerve: by this, three parts in four of Maſons, Carpenters, Bricklayers, &c. would want employment; and the building trade being once deſtroyed, what would become of Limning, Carving, and other arts that are miniſtring to luxury, and have been carefully forbid by thoſe lawgivers, that preferred a good and honeſt, to a great and wealthy ſociety, and endeavoured to render their ſubjects rather virtuous than rich. By a law of Lycurgus, it was enacted, That the cielings of the Spartan houſes ſhould only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only ſmoothed by the ſaw: and this, ſays Plutarch, was not without myſtery; for if Epaminondas could ſay with ſo good a grace, inviting ſome of his friends to his table, "Come, "gentlemen, be ſecure, treaſon would never come "to ſuch a poor dinner as this;" why might not this great lawgiver, in all probability, have thought, that ſuch ill-favoured houſes would never be capable of receiving luxury and ſuperfluity?

It is reported, as the ſame author tells us, that king Leotichidas, the firſt of that name, was ſo

little uſed to the ſight of carved work, that being entertained at Corinth in a ſtately room, he was much ſurpriſed to ſee the timber and cieling ſo finely wrought, and asked his hoſt whether the trees grew ſo in his country.

The ſame want of employment would reach innumerable callings; and among the reſt, that of the

> Weavers that join'd rich ſilk with plate,
> And all the trades ſubordinate.

(as the Fable has it) would be one of the firſt that ſhould have reaſon to complain; for the price of land and houſes being, by the removal of the vaſt numbers that had left the hive, ſunk very low on the one ſide, and every body abhorring all other ways of gain, but ſuch as were ſtrictly honeſt on the other, it is not probable that many without pride or prodigality ſhould be able to wear cloth of gold and ſilver, or rich brocades. The conſequence of which would be, that not only the weaver, but likewiſe the ſilver ſpinner, the flatter, the wire-drawer, the bar-man, and the refiner, would, in a little time, be affected with this frugality.

(T.)——To live great,
Had made her huſband rob the ſtate.

Page 11. Line 22.

WHat our common rogues when they are going to be hanged chiefly complain of, as the cauſe of their untimely end, is, next to the neglect

of the ſabbath, their having kept company with ill women, meaning whores; and I don't queſtion, but that, among the leſſer villains, many venture their necks to indulge and ſatisfy their low amours. But the words that have given occaſion to this remark, may ſerve to hint to us, that among the great ones men are often put upon ſuch dangerous projects, and forced into ſuch pernicious meaſures by their wives, as the moſt ſubtle miſtreſs never could have perſuaded them to. I have ſhewn already that the worſt of women, and moſt profligate of the ſex, did contribute to the conſumption of ſuperfluities, as well as the neceſſaries of life, and conſequently were beneficial to many peaceable drudges, that work hard to maintain their families, and have no worſe deſign than an honeſt livelihood.—Let them be baniſhed notwithſtanding, ſays a good man: when every ſtrumpet is gone, and the land wholly freed from lewdneſs, God Almighty will pour ſuch bleſſings upon it as will vaſtly exceed the profits that are now got by harlots.—This, perhaps, would be true; but I can make it evident, that with or without proſtitutes, nothing could make amends for the detriment trade would ſuſtain, if all thoſe of that ſex, who enjoy the happy ſtate of matrimony, ſhould act and behave themſelves as a ſober wiſe man could wiſh them.

The variety of work that is performed, and the number of hands employed, to gratify the fickleneſs and luxury of women is prodigious: and if only the married ones ſhould hearken to reaſon and juſt remonſtrances, think themſelves ſufficiently anſwered with the firſt refuſal, and never aſk a ſecond time what had been once denied them; if, I ſay, married women would do this, and then

lay out no money but what their husbands knew and freely allowed of, the consumption of a thousand things, they now make use of, would be lessened by at least a fourth part. Let us go from house to house, and observe the way of the world only among the middling people, creditable shopkeepers, that spend two or three hundred a year, and we shall find the women when they have half a score suits of clothes, two or three of them not the worse for wearing, will think it a sufficient plea for new ones, if they can say, that they have never a gown or petticoat, but what they have been often seen in, and are known by, especially at church; I don't speak now of profuse extravagant women, but such as are counted prudent and moderate in their desires.

If by this pattern we should in proportion judge of the highest ranks, where the richest clothes are but a trifle to their other expences, and not forget the furniture of all sorts, equipages, jewels, and buildings of persons of quality, we should find the fourth part I speak of a vast article in trade, and that the loss of it would be a greater calamity to such a nation as ours, than it is possible to conceive any other, a raging pestilence not excepted; for the death of half a million of people could not cause a tenth part of the disturbance to the kingdom, that the same number of poor unemployed would certainly create, if at once they were to be added to those, that already one way or other are a burden to the society.

Some few men have a real passion for their wives, and are fond of them without reserve; others that don't care, and have little occasion for women, are yet seemingly uxorious, and love out of vanity; they take delight in a handsome wife, as a

coxcomb

coxcomb does in a fine horſe, not for the uſe he makes of it, but becauſe it is his: the pleaſure lyes in the conſciouſneſs of an uncontroulable poſſeſſion, and, what follows from it, the reflexion on the mighty thoughts he imagines others to have of his happineſs. The men of either ſort may be very laviſh to their wives, and often preventing their wiſhes croud new clothes and other finery upon them faſter than they can aſk it, but the greater part are wiſer than to indulge the extravagancies of their wives ſo far, as to give them immediately every thing they are pleas'd to fancy.

It is incredible what vaſt quantity of trinkets as well as apparel are purchas'd and uſed by women, which they could never have come at by any other means, than pinching their families, marketting, and other ways of cheating and pilfering from their huſbands: others by ever teazing their ſpouſes, tire them into compliance, and conquer even obſtinate churls by perſeverance, and their aſſiduity of aſking: a third ſort are outragious at a denial, and by downright noiſe and ſcolding bully their tame fools out of any thing they have a mind to; whilſt thouſands by the force of wheedling know how to overcome the beſt weigh'd reaſons and the moſt poſitive reiterated refuſals; the young and beautiful eſpecially laugh at all remonſtrances and denials, and few of them ſcruple to employ the moſt tender minutes of wedlock to promote a ſordid intereſt. Here, had I time, I could inveigh with warmth againſt thoſe baſe, thoſe wicked women, who calmly play their arts and falſe deluding charms againſt our ſtrength and prudence, and act the harlots with their huſbands! nay, ſhe is worſe than whore, who impiouſly prophanes and proſtitutes the ſacred rites of love to vile ignoble ends;

ends; that first excites to passion and invites to joys with seeming ardour, then racks our fondness for no other purpose than to extort a gift, whilst full of guile in counterfeited transports she watches for the moment when men can least deny.

I beg pardon for this start out of my way, and desire the experienced reader duly to weigh what has been said as to the main purpose, and after that call to mind the temporal blessings, which men daily hear not only toasted and wish'd for, when people are merry and doing of nothing; but likewise gravely and solemnly prayed for in churches, and other religious assemblies, by clergymen of all sorts and sizes: and as soon as he shall have laid these things together, and, from what he has observed in the common affairs of life, reason'd upon them consequentially without prejudice, I dare flatter myself, that he will be obliged to own, that a considerable portion of what the prosperity of London, and trade in general, and consequently the honour, strength, safety, and all the worldly interest of the nation consist in, depends entirely on the deceit and vile stratagems of women; and that humility, content, meekness, obedience to reasonable husbands, frugality and all the virtues together, if they were possessed of them in the most eminent degree, could not possibly be a thousandth part so serviceable, to make an opulent, powerful and what we call a flourishing kingdom, than their most hateful qualities.

I don't question but many of my readers will be startled at this assertion, when they look on the consequences that may be drawn from it; and I shall be ask'd, whether people may not as well be virtuous in a populous, rich, wide extended kingdom, as in a small indigent state or principality, that

that is poorly inhabited? and if that be impoſſible, whether it is not the duty of all ſovereigns to reduce their ſubjects, as to wealth and numbers as much as they can? If I allow they may, I own myſelf in the wrong; and if I affirm the other, my tenets will juſtly be called impious, or at leaſt dangerous to all large ſocieties. As it is not in this place of the book only, but a great many others, that ſuch queries might be made even by a well-meaning reader, I ſhall here explain myſelf, and endeavour to ſolve thoſe difficulties, which ſeveral paſſages might have raiſed in him, in order to demonſtrate the conſiſtency of my opinion to reaſon, and the ſtricteſt morality.

I lay down as a firſt principle, that in all ſocieties, great or ſmall, it is the duty of every member of it to be good, that virtue ought to be encouraged, vice diſcountenanced, the laws obeyed, and the tranſgreſſors puniſhed. After this I affirm, that if we conſult hiſtory both antient and modern, and take a view of what has paſt in the world, we ſhall find that human nature ſince the fall of Adam has always been the ſame, and that the ſtrength and frailties of it have ever been conſpicuous in one part of the globe or other, without any regard to ages, climates or religion. I never ſaid nor imagined, that man could not be virtuous as well in a rich and mighty kingdom, as in the moſt pitiful commonwealth; but I own it is my ſenſe that no ſociety can be raiſed into ſuch a rich and mighty kingdom, or ſo raiſed, ſubſiſt in their wealth and power for any conſiderable time, without the vices of man.

This I imagine is ſufficiently proved throughout the book; and as human nature ſtill continues the ſame, as it has always been for ſo many thouſand years

years, we have no great reaſon to ſuſpect a future change in it, whilſt the world endures. Now I cannot ſee what immorality there is in ſhewing a man the origin and power of thoſe paſſions, which ſo often, even unknowingly to himſelf, hurry him away from his reaſon; or that there is any impiety in putting him upon his guard againſt himſelf, and the ſecret ſtratagems of ſelf-love, and teaching him the difference between ſuch actions as proceed from a victory over the paſſions, and thoſe that are only the reſult of a conqueſt which one paſſion obtains over another; that is, between real and counterfeited virtue. It is an admirable ſaying of a worthy divine, "That though many diſcoveries "have been made in the world of ſelf-love, there "is yet abundance of *terra incognita* left be-"hind." What hurt do I do to man if I make him more known to himſelf than he was before? but we are all ſo deſperately in love with flattery, that we can never reliſh a truth that is mortifying, and I don't believe that the immortality of the ſoul, a truth broach'd long before Chriſtianity, would have ever found ſuch a general reception in human capacities as it has, had it not been a pleaſing one, that extolled, and was a compliment to the whole ſpecies, the meaneſt and moſt miſerable not excepted.

Every one loves to hear the thing well ſpoke of, that he has a ſhare in, even bailiffs, goal-kepers, and the hang-man himſelf would have you think well of their functions; nay, thieves and houſe-breakers have a greater regard to thoſe of their fraternity than they have for honeſt people; and I ſincerely believe, that it is chiefly ſelf-love that has gained this little treatiſe (as it was before the laſt impreſſion) ſo many enemies; every one looks upon

upon it as an affront done to himſelf, becauſe it detracts from the dignity, and leſſens the fine notions he had conceived of mankind, the moſt worſhipful company he belongs to. When I ſay that ſocieties cannot be raiſed to wealth and power, and the top of earthly glory, without vices, I don't think that by ſo ſaying I bid men be vicious, any more than I bid them be quarrelſome or covetous, when I affirm that the profeſſion of the law could not be maintained in ſuch numbers and ſplendour, if there was not abundance of too ſelfiſh and litigious people.

But as nothing would more clearly demonſtrate the falſity of my notions, than that the generality of the people ſhould fall in with them, ſo I don't expect the approbation of the multitude. I write not to many, nor ſeek for any well-wiſhers, but among the few that can think abſtractly, and have their minds elevated above the vulgar. If I have ſhewn the way to worldly greatneſs, I have always without heſitation preferred the road that leads to virtue.

Would you baniſh fraud and luxury, prevent prophaneneſs and irreligion, and make the generality of the people charitable, good and virtuous: break down the printing preſſes, melt the ſounds, and burn all the books in the iſland, except thoſe at the univerſities, where they remain unmoleſted, and ſuffer no volume in private hands but a bible: knock down foreign trade, prohibite all commerce with ſtrangers, and permit no ſhips to go to ſea, that ever will return, beyond fiſher-boats: reſtore to the clergy, the king and the barons their antient privileges, prerogatives and poſſeſſions: build new churches, and convert all the coin you can come at into ſacred utenſils; erect monaſteries

and

and alms-houſes in abundance, and let no pariſh be without a charity-ſchool: enact ſumptuary laws, and let your youth be inured to hardſhip; inſpire them with all the nice and moſt refined notions of honour and ſhame, of friendſhip and of heroiſm, and introduce among them a great variety of imaginary rewards: then let the clergy preach abſtinence and ſelf-denial to others, and take what liberty they pleaſe for themſelves; let them bear the greateſt ſway in the management of ſtate-affairs, and no man be made lord-treaſurer but a biſhop.

By ſuch pious endeavours, and wholeſome regulations, the ſcene would ſoon be altered: the greateſt part of the covetous, the diſcontented, the reſtleſs and ambitious villains would leave the land, vaſt ſwarms of cheating knaves would abandon the city, and be diſperſed throughout the country: artificers would learn to hold the plough, merchants turn farmers, and the ſinful over-grown Jeruſalem, without famine, war, peſtilence or compulſion, be emptied in the moſt eaſy manner, and ever after ceaſe to be dreadful to her ſovereigns: the happy reformed kingdom would, by this means, be crowded in no part of it, and every thing neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of man be cheap and abound. On the contrary, the root of ſo many thouſand evils, money, would be very ſcarce, and as little wanted, where every man ſhould enjoy the fruits of his own labour, and our own dear manufacture unmixed be promiſcuouſly wore by the lord and the peaſant. It is impoſſible, that ſuch a change of circumſtances ſhould not influence the manners of a nation, and render them temperate, honeſt, and ſincere, and from the next generation we might reaſonably expect a more healthy and robuſt off-ſpring than the

the preſent; an harmleſs, innocent, and well-meaning people, that would never diſpute the doctrine of paſſive obedience, nor any other orthodox principles, but be ſubmiſſive to ſuperiors, and unanimous in religious worſhip.

Here I fancy myſelf interrupted by an Epicure, who, not to want a reſtorative diet in caſe of neceſſity, is never without live ortelans. And I am told that goodneſs and probity are to be had at a cheaper rate than the ruin of a nation, and the deſtruction of all the comforts of life: that liberty and property may be maintained without wickedneſs or fraud, and men be good ſubjects without being ſlaves, and religious tho' they refus'd to be prieſt-rid: that to be frugal and ſaving is a duty incumbent only on thoſe, whoſe circumſtances require it, but that a man of a good eſtate does his country a ſervice by living up to the income of it: that as to himſelf, he is ſo much maſter of his appetites, that he can abſtain from any thing upon occaſion; that where true Hermitage was not to be had, he could content himſelf with plain Bourdeaux if it had a good body; that many a morning inſtead of St Laurence he has made a ſhift with Frontiniac, and after dinner given Cyprus wine, and even Madera, when he had a large company, and thought it extravagant to treat with Tockay; but that all voluntary mortifications are ſuperſtitious, only belonging to blind zealots and enthuſiaſts. He'll quote my lord Shaftſbury againſt me, and tell me, that people may be virtuous and ſociable without ſelf-denial, that it is an affront to virtue to make it inacceſſible, that I make a bugbear of it to frighten men from it, as a thing impracticable; but that for his part he can praiſe God, and at the ſame time enjoy his creatures

creatures with a good conſcience) neither will he forget any thing to his purpoſe of what I have ſaid page 94. He'll aſk me at laſt, whether the legiſlature, the wiſdom of the nation itſelf, whilſt they endeavour as much as is poſſible to diſcourage prophaneneſs and immorality, and promote the glory of God, do not openly profeſs at the ſame time to have nothing more at heart than the eaſe and welfare of the ſubject, the wealth, ſtrength, honour, and what elſe is called the true intereſt of the country; and moreover, whether the moſt devout and moſt learned of our prelates in their greateſt concern for our converſion, when they beſeech the Deity to turn their own as well as our hearts from the world and all carnal deſires, do not in the ſame prayer as loudly ſollicit him to pour all earthly bleſſings and temporal felicity on the kingdom they belong to.

Theſe are the apologies, the excuſes and common pleas, not only of thoſe who are notoriouſly vicious, but the generality of mankind, when you touch the copy-hold of their inclinations; and trying the real value they have for ſpirituals, would actually ſtrip them of what their minds are wholly bent upon. Aſhamed of the many frailties they feel within, all men endeavour to hide themſelves, their ugly nakedneſs, from each other, and wrapping up the true motives of their hearts in the ſpecious cloke of ſociableneſs, and their concern for the public good, they are in hopes of concealing their filthy appetites and the deformity of their deſires; whilſt they are conſcious within of the fondneſs of their darling luſts, and their incapacity, barefac'd, to tread the arduous, rugged path of virtue.

As

As to the two laſt queſtions, I own they are very puzzling: to what the Epicure aſks, I am obliged to anſwer in the affirmative: and unleſs I would (which God forbid!) arraign the ſincerity of kings, biſhops, and the whole legiſlative power, the objection ſtands good againſt me: All I can ſay for myſelf is, that in the connexion of the facts there is a myſtery paſt human underſtanding; and to convince the reader, that this is no evaſion, I ſhall illuſtrate the incomprehenſibility of it in the following parable.

In old heathen times there was, they ſay, a whimſical country, where the people talk'd much of religion, and the greateſt part as to outward appearance ſeem'd really devout: the chief moral evil among them was thirſt, and to quench it a damnable ſin; yet they unanimouſly agreed that every one was born thirſty more or leſs: ſmall beer in moderation was allowed to all, and he was counted an hypocrite, a Cynic, or a madman, who pretended that one could live altogether without it; yet thoſe, who owned they loved it, and drank it to exceſs, were counted wicked. All this while the beer itſelf was reckoned a bleſſing from heaven, and there was no harm in the uſe of it: all the enormity lay in the abuſe, the motive of the heart, that made them drink it. He that took the leaſt drop of it to quench his thirſt, committed a heinous crime, whilſt others drank large quantities without any guilt, ſo they did it indifferently, and for no other reaſon than to mend their complexion.

They brew'd for other countries as well as their own, and for the ſmall beer they ſent abroad, they receiv'd large returns of Weſtphalia-hams, neats-tongues, hung beef, and Bolonia ſauſages, red-

red-herrings, pickled-ſturgeon, cavear, anchovies, and every thing that was proper to make their liquor go down with pleaſure. Thoſe who kept great ſtores of ſmall beer by them without making uſe of it, were generally envied, and at the ſame time very odious to the public, and no body was eaſy that had not enough of it come to his own ſhare. The greateſt calamity they thought could befal them, was to keep their hops and barley upon their hands, and the more they yearly conſumed of them, the more they reckoned the country to flouriſh.

The government had made very wiſe regulations concerning the returns that were made for their exports, encouraged very much the importation of ſalt and pepper, and laid heavy duties on every thing that was not well ſeaſoned, and might any wiſe obſtruct the ſale of their own hops and barley. Thoſe at helm, when they acted in public, ſhewed themſelves on all accounts exempt and wholly diveſted from thirſt, made ſeveral laws to prevent the growth of it, and puniſh the wicked who openly dared to quench it. If you examin'd them in their private perſons, and pry'd narrowly into their lives and converſations, they ſeem'd to be more fond, or at leaſt drank larger draughts of ſmall beer than others, but always under pretence that the mending of complexions required greater quantities of liquor in them, than it did in thoſe they ruled over; and that, what they had chiefly at heart, without any regard to themſelves, was to procure great plenty of ſmall bear among the ſubjects in general, and a great demand for their hops and barley.

As no body was debarred from ſmall beer, the clergy made uſe of it as well as the laity, and

ſome

some of them very plentifully; yet all of them desired to be thought less thirsty by their function than others, and never would own that they drank any but to mend their complexions. In their religious assemblies they were more sincere; for as soon as they came there, they all openly confessed the clergy as well as the laity, from the highest to the lowest, that they were thirsty, that mending their complexions was what they minded the least, and that all their hearts were set upon small beer and quenching their thirst, whatever they might pretend to the contrary. What was remarkable is, that to have laid hold of those truths to any one's prejudice, and made use of those confessions afterwards out of their temples, would have been counted very impertinent, and every body thought it an heinous affront to be called Thirsty, tho' you had seen him drink small beer by whole gallons. The chief topics of their preachers was the great evil of thirst, and the folly there was in quenching it. They exhorted their hearers to resist the temptations of it, inveigh'd against small beer, and often told them it was poison, if they drank it with pleasure, or any other design than to mend their complexions.

In their acknowledgments to the gods, they thank'd them for the plenty of comfortable small beer they had received from them, notwithstanding they had so little deserved it, and continually quenched their thirst with it; whereas they were so throughly satisfied, that it was given them for a better use. Having begged pardon for those offences, they desired the gods to lessen their thirst, and give them strength to resist the importunities of it; yet, in the midst of their sorest repentance, and most humble supplications, they never forgot

small

ſmall beer, and pray'd that they might continue to have it in great plenty, with a ſolemn promiſe, that how neglectful ſoever they might hitherto have been in this point, they would for the future not drink a drop of it with any other deſign than to mend their complexions.

Theſe were ſtanding petitions put together to laſt; and having continued to be made uſe of without any alterations for ſeveral hundred years together, it was thought by ſome, that the gods, who underſtood futurity, and knew that the ſame promiſe they heard in June, would be made to them the January following, did not rely much more on thoſe vows, than we do on thoſe waggiſh inſcriptions by which men offer us their goods, 'To-day for money, and To-morrow for no-'thing.' They often began their prayers very myſtically, and ſpoke many things in a ſpiritual ſenſe; yet, they never were ſo abſtract from the world in them, as to end one without beſeeching the gods to bleſs and proſper the brewing trade in all its branches, and, for the good of the whole, more and more to encreaſe the conſumption of hops and barley.

(V.) Content, the bane of induſtry.

Page 12. Line 6.

I Have been told by many, that the bane of induſtry is lazineſs, and not content; therefore to prove my aſſertion, which ſeems a paradox to ſome

ſome, I ſhall treat of lazineſs and content ſeparately, and afterwards ſpeak of induſtry, that the reader may judge which it is of the two former that is moſt oppoſite to the latter.

Lazineſs is an averſion to buſineſs, generally attended with an unreaſonable deſire of remaining unactive; and every body is lazy, who, without being hindered by any other warrantable employment, refuſes or puts off any buſineſs which he ought to do for himſelf or others. We ſeldom call any body lazy, but ſuch as we reckon inferior to us, and of whom we expect ſome ſervice. Children don't think their parents lazy, nor ſervants their maſters; and if a gentleman indulges his eaſe and ſloth ſo abominably, that he won't put on his own ſhoes, though he is young and ſlender, no body ſhall call him lazy for it, if he can keep but a footman, or ſome body elſe to do it for him.

Mr Dryden has given us a very good idea of ſuperlative ſlothfulneſs in the perſon of a luxurious king of Egypt. His majeſty having beſtowed ſome conſiderable gifts on ſeveral of his favourites, is attended by ſome of his chief miniſters with a parchment which he was to ſign to confirm thoſe grants. Firſt, he walks a few turns to and fro with a heavy uneaſineſs in his looks, then ſets himſelf down like a man that's tired, and at laſt, with abundance of reluctancy to what he was going about, he takes up the pen, and falls a complaining very ſeriouſly of the length of the word Ptolemy, and expreſſes a great deal of concern, that he had not ſome ſhort monoſyllable for his name, which he thought would ſave him a world of trouble.

We often reproach others with lazineſs, becauſe we are guilty of it ourſelves. Some days ago as two young women ſat knotting together, ſays one to the other, There comes a wicked cold through that door, you are the neareſt to it, Siſter, pray ſhut it. The other, who was the youngeſt, vouchſafed indeed to caſt an eye towards the door, but ſat ſtill and ſaid nothing: the eldeſt ſpoke again two or three times; and at laſt, the other making her no anſwer, nor offering to ſtir, ſhe got up in a pet, and ſhut the door herſelf; coming back to ſit down again, ſhe gave the younger a very hard look, and ſaid, "Lord, ſiſter Bet-"ty, I would not be ſo lazy as you are for all the "world;" which ſhe ſpoke ſo earneſtly, that it brought a colour in her face. The youngeſt ſhould have riſen, I own; but if the eldeſt had not over-valued her labour, ſhe would have ſhut the door herſelf, as ſoon as the cold was offenſive to her, without making any words of it. She was not above a ſtep farther from the door than her ſiſter, and as to age there was not eleven months difference between them, and they were both under twenty. I thought it a hard matter to determine which was the lazieſt of the two.

There are a thouſand wretches that are always working the marrow out of their bones for next to nothing, becauſe they are unthinking and ignorant of what the pains they take are worth; whilſt others who are cunning and underſtand the true value of their work, refuſe to be employed at under rates, not becauſe they are of an unactive temper, but becauſe they won't beat down the price of their labour. A country gentleman ſees at the back ſide of the exchange a porter walking to and fro with his hands in his pockets. Pray, ſays he, friend

friend will you ſtep for me with this letter as far as Bow-Church, and I'll give you a penny. 'I'll "go with all my heart (ſays t'other) but I muſt "have two-pence, maſter;" which the gentleman refuſing to give, the fellow turn'd his back, and told him, he'd rather play for nothing than work for nothing. The gentleman thought it an unaccountable piece of lazineſs in a porter, rather to ſaunter up and down for nothing, than to be earning a penny with as little trouble. Some hours after he happened to be with ſome friends at a tavern in Threadneedleſtreet, where one of them calling to mind that he had forgot to ſend for a bill of exchange that was to go away with the poſt that night, was in great perplexity, and immediately wanted ſomebody to go for him to Hackney with all the ſpeed imaginable. It was after ten, in the middle of winter, a very rainy night, and all the porters thereabouts were gone to bed. The gentleman grew very uneaſy, and ſaid, whatever it coſt him, that ſomebody he muſt ſend; at laſt one of the drawers ſeeing him ſo very preſſing, told him that he knew a porter, who would riſe, if it was a job worth his while. "Worth his while," ſaid the gentleman very eagerly, "don't doubt "of that, good lad, if you know of any body let "him make what haſt he can, and I'll give him a "crown if he be back by twelve o'clock." Upon this the drawer took the errand, left the room, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour came back with the welcome news that the meſſage would be diſpatch'd with all expedition. The company in the mean time diverted themſelves as they had done before; but when it began to be towards twelve, the watches were pulled out, and the porter's return was all the diſcourſe. Some were of opinion he might

yet come before the clock had ſtruck; others thought it impoſſible, and now it wanted but three minutes of twelve when in comes the nimble meſſenger ſmoaking hot, with his clothes as wet as dung with the rain, and his head all over in a bath of ſweat. He had nothing dry about him but the inſide of his pocket-book, out of which he took the bill he had been for, and by the drawers direction preſented it to the gentleman it belonged to; who being very well pleaſed with the diſpatch he had made, gave him the crown he had promiſed, whilſt another filled him a bumper, and the whole company commended his diligence. As the fellow came nearer the light to take up the wine, the country gentleman I mentioned at firſt, to his great admiration, knew him to be the ſame porter that had refuſed to earn his penny, and whom he thought the lazieſt mortal alive.

This ſtory teaches us, that we ought not to confound thoſe who remain unemployed for want of an opportunity of exerting themſelves to the beſt advantage, with ſuch as, for want of ſpirit, hug themſelves in their ſloth, and will rather ſtarve than ſtir. Without this caution we muſt pronounce all the world more or leſs lazy, according to their eſtimation of the reward they are to purchaſe with their labour, and then the moſt induſtrious may be called lazy.

Content, I call that calm ſerenity of the mind, which men enjoy whilſt they think themſelves happy, and reſt ſatisfied with the ſtation they are in: it implies a favourable conſtruction of our preſent circumſtances, and a peaceful tranquillity which men are ſtrangers to as long as they are ſolicitous about mending their condition. This is a virtue of which the applauſe is very precarious and uncertain: for according as mens circumſtances va-

ry,

ry, they'll either be blamed or commended for being poſſeſſed of it.

A ſingle man that works hard at a laborious trade, has a hundred a year left him by a relation: this change of fortune makes him ſoon weary of working, and, not having induſtry enough to put himſelf forward in the world, he reſolves to do nothing at all, and live upon his income. As long as he lives within compaſs, pays for what he has, and offends no body, he ſhall be called an honeſt quiet man. The victualler, his landlady, the taylor, and others, divide what he has between them, and the ſociety is every year the better for his revenue; whereas if he ſhould follow his own or any other trade, he muſt hinder others, and ſome body would have the leſs for what he ſhould get; and therefore, tho' he ſhould be the idleſt fellow in the world, ly a-bed fifteen hours in four and twenty, and do nothing but ſauntring up and down all the reſt of the time, no body would diſcommend him, and his unactive ſpirit is honoured with the name of content.

But if the ſame man marries, gets three or four children, and ſtill continues of the ſame eaſy temper, reſts ſatisfied with what he has, and, without endeavouring to get a penny, indulges his former ſloth: firſt, his relations, afterwards all his acquaintance, will be alarmed at his negligence: they foreſee that his income will not be ſufficient to bring up ſo many children handſomely, and are afraid, ſome of them may, if not a burden, become a diſgrace to them. When theſe fears have been for ſome time whiſpered about from one to another, his uncle Gripe takes him to taſk, and accoſts him in the following cant; "what, nephew, no buſi-"neſs yet! fy upon't! I can't imagine how you

" do to ſpend your time, if you won't work at " your own trade, there are fifty ways that a man " may pick up a penny by: you have a hundred " a year, 'tis true, but your charges encreaſe e- " very year, and what muſt you do when your " children are grown up? I have a better eſtate " than you myſelf, and yet you don't ſee me leave " off my buſineſs; nay, I declare it, might I have " the world I could not lead the life you do. 'Tis " no buſineſs of mine, I own, but every body " cries, 'tis a ſhame that a young man as you are, " who has his limbs and his health, ſhould not " turn his hands to ſomething or other." If theſe admonitions do not reform him in a little time, and he continues half a year longer without employment, he'll become a diſcourſe to the whole neighbourhood, and, for the ſame qualifications that once got him the name of a quiet contented man, he ſhall be called the worſt of huſbands and the lazieſt fellow upon earth: from whence it is manifeſt, that when we pronounce actions good or evil, we only regard the hurt or benefit the ſociety receives from them, and not the perſon who commits them. (See page 21.)

Diligence and induſtry are often uſed promiſcuouſly, to ſignify the ſame thing, but there is a great difference between them. A poor wretch may want neither diligence nor ingenuity, be a ſaving pains-taking man, and yet without ſtriving to mend his circumſtances remain contented with the ſtation he lives in; but induſtry implies, beſides the other qualities, a thirſt after gain, and an indefatigable deſire of meliorating our condition. When men think either the cuſtomary profits of their calling, or elſe the ſhare of buſineſs they have too ſmall, they have two ways to deſerve

ſerve the name of induſtrious; and they muſt be either ingenious enough to find out uncommon, and yet warrantable methods to encreaſe their buſineſs, or their profit, or elſe ſupply that defect by a multiplicity of occupations. If a tradeſman takes care to provide his ſhop, and gives due attendance to thoſe that come to it, he is a diligent man in his buſineſs; but if, beſides that, he takes particular pains to ſell to the ſame advantage a better commodity than the reſt of his neighbours, or if by his obſequiouſneſs, or ſome other good quality, getting into a large acquaintance, he uſes all poſſible endeavours of drawing cuſtomers to his houſe, he then may be called induſtrious. A cobler, tho' he is not employed half of his time, if he neglects no buſineſs, and makes diſpatch when he has any, is a diligent man; but if he runs of errands when he has no work, or makes but ſhoe pins, and ſerves as a watchman a-nights, he deſerves the name of induſtrious.

If what has been ſaid in this remark be duely weigh'd, we ſhall find either that lazineſs and content are very near a-kin, or if there be a great difference between them, that the latter is more contrary to induſtry than the former.

(X.) To make a great an honeſt hive.

Page 13. Line 2.

THIS perhaps might be done where people are contented to be poor and hardy; but if

they would likewise enjoy their ease and the comforts of the world, and be at once an opulent, potent, and flourishing, as well as a warlike nation, it is utterly impossible. I have heard people speak of the mighty figure the Spartans made above all the commonwealths of Greece, notwithstanding their uncommon frugality, and other exemplary virtues. But certainly there never was a nation whose greatness was more empty than theirs: the splendour they liv'd in was inferior to that of a theatre, and the only thing they could be proud of was, that they enjoy'd nothing. They were indeed both fear'd and esteem'd abroad: they were so fam'd for valour and skill in martial affairs, that their neighbours did not only court their friendship and assistance in their wars, but were satisfied, and thought themselves sure of the victory if they could but get a Spartan general to command their armies. But then their discipline was so rigid, and their manner of living so austere and void of all comfort, that the most temperate man among us would refuse to submit to the harshness of such uncouth laws. There was a perfect equality among them: gold and silver coin were cried down; their current money was made of iron, to render it of a great bulk and little worth: to lay up twenty or thirty pounds required a pretty large chamber, and to remove it nothing less than a yoke of oxen. Another remedy they had against luxury was, that they were obliged to eat in common of the same meat, and they so little allowed any body to dine or sup by himself at home, that Agis, one of their kings, having vanquished the Athenians, and sending for his commons at his return home (because he desired

fired privately to eat with his queen) was refused by the Polemarchi.

In training up their youth, their chief care, says Plutarch, was to make them good subjects, to fit them to endure the fatigues of long and tedious marches, and never to return without victory from the field. When they were twelve years old, they lodged in little bands, upon beds made of the rushes which grew by the banks of the river Eurotas; and, because their points were sharp, they were to break them off with their hands without a knife: if it were a hard winter they mingled some thistle-down with their rushes to keep them warm (see Plutarch in the life of Lycurgus.) From all these circumstances it is plain, that no nation on earth was less effeminate; but being debarred from all the comforts of life, they could have nothing for their pains but the glory of being a warlike people, inur'd to toils and hardships, which was a happiness that few people would have cared for upon the same terms: and though they had been masters of the world, as long as they enjoyed no more of it, Englishmen would hardly have envy'd them in their greatness. What men want now-a-days has sufficiently been shewn in remark (O) where I have treated of real pleasures.

(Y.) To enjoy the world's conveniencies.

Page 13. Line 3.

THAT the words decency and conveniency were very ambiguous, and not to be understood, unless we were acquainted with the quality and circumstances of the persons that made use of them, has been hinted already in remark (L.) The goldsmith, mercer, or any other of the most creditable shopkeepers, that has three or four thousand pounds to set up with, must have two dishes of meat every day, and something extraordinary for sundays. His wife must have a damask bed against her lying-in, and two or three rooms very well furnished. The following summer she must have a house, or at least very good lodgings in the country. A man that has a being out of town, must have a horse, his footman must have another. If he has a tolerable trade, he expects in eight or ten years time to keep his coach, which notwithstanding he hopes, that after he has slaved (as he calls it) for two or three and twenty years, he shall be worth at least a thousand a year for his eldest son to inherit, and two or three thousand pounds for each of his other children to begin the world with; and when men of such circumstances pray for their daily bread, and mean nothing more extravagant by it, they are counted pretty modest people. Call this pride, luxury, superfluity, or what you please, it is nothing but what

what ought to be in the capital of a flourishing nation: those of inferior condition must content themselves with less costly conveniencies, as others of higher rank will be sure to make theirs more expensive. Some people call it but decency to be served in plate, and reckon a coach and six among the necessary comforts of life; and if a peer has not above three or four thousand a year, his lordship is counted poor.

SINCE the first edition of this book, several have attack'd me with demonstrations of the certain ruin which excessive luxury must bring upon all nations, who yet were soon answer'd, when I shewed them the limits within which I had confined it; and therefore that no reader for the future may misconstrue me on this head, I shall point at the cautions I have given, and the proviso's I have made in the former as well as this present impression, and which, if not overlooked, must prevent all rational censure, and obviate several objections that otherwise might be made against me. I have laid down as maxims never to be departed from, that the * poor should be kept strictly to work, and that it was prudence to relieve their wants, but folly to cure them; that agriculture † and fishery should be promoted in all their branches, in order to render provisions, and consequently labour cheap. I have named ‡ ignorance as a necessary ingredient in the mixture of society. From all which it is manifest that I could never have imagined that luxury was to be made general through every part of a king-

* Page 163, 164. First edit. 175. 176.
† Page 165. First edit. 178.
‡ Page 77. First edit. 77.

dom. I have likewise required * that property should be well secured, justice impartially administred, and in every thing the interest of the nation taken care of: but what I have insisted on the most, and repeated more than once, is the great regard that is to be had to the balance of trade, and the care the legislature ought to take that the yearly † imports never exceed the exports; and where this is observed, and the other things I spoke of are not neglected, I still continue to assert, that no foreign luxury can undo a country: the height of it is never seen but in nations that are vastly populous, and there only in the upper part of it, and the greater that is, the larger still in proportion must be the lowest, the basis that supports all, the multitude of working poor.

Those who would too nearly imitate others of superior fortune, must thank themselves if they are ruin'd. This is nothing against luxury; for whoever can subsist, and lives above his income, is a fool. Some persons of quality may keep three or four coaches and six, and at the same time lay up money for their children; whilst a young shopkeeper is undone for keeping one sorry horse. It is impossible there should be a rich nation without prodigals, yet, I never knew a city so full of spend-thrifts, but there were covetous people enough to answer their number. As an old merchant breaks for having been extravagant or careless a great while, so a young beginner, falling into the same business, gets an estate by being saving or more industrious before he is forty years old: besides that, the frailties of men often

* Page 85. First edit. 87.

† Page 84, 85. First edit. 86, 87.

often work by contraries: some narrow souls can never thrive because they are too stingy, whilst longer heads amass great wealth by spending their money freely, and seeming to despise it. But the vicissitudes of fortune are necessary, and the most lamentable are no more detrimental to society than the death of the individual members of it. Christenings are a proper balance to burials. Those who immediately lose by the misfortunes of others are very sorry, complain, and make a noise; but the others who get by them, as there always are such, hold their tongues, because it is odious to be thought the better for the losses and calamities of our neighbour. The various ups and downs compose a wheel, that always turning round gives motion to the whole machine. Philosophers, that dare extend their thoughts beyond the narrow compass of what is immediately before them, look on the alternate changes of the civil society, no otherwise than they do on the risings and fallings of the lungs; the latter of which are as much a part of respiration in the more perfect animals as the first; so that the fickle breath of never-stable fortune is to the body politic, the same as floating air is to a living creature.

Avarice then and prodigality are equally necessary to the society. That in some countries men are more generally lavish than in others, proceeds from the difference in circumstances that dispose to either vice, and arise from the condition of the social body, as well as the temperament of the natural. I beg pardon of the attentive reader, if here, in behalf of short memories, I repeat some things, the substance of which they have already seen in remark (Q.) More money than land, heavy taxes and scarcity of provisions, industry,

duſtry, laborioufneſs, an active and ſtirring ſpirit, ill nature, and Saturnine temper, old age, wiſdom, trade, riches acquired by our own labour, and liberty and property well ſecured, are all things that diſpoſe to avarice. On the contrary, indolence, content, good-nature, a jovial temper, youth, folly, arbitrary power, money eaſily got, plenty of proviſions, and the uncertainty of poſſeſſions, are circumſtances that render men prone to prodigality: where there is the moſt of the firſt, the prevailing vice will be avarice, and prodigality where the other turn the ſcale; but a national frugality there never was, nor never will be, without a national neceſſity.

Sumptuary laws may be of uſe to an indigent country, after great calamities of war, peſtilence, or famine, where work has ſtood ſtill, and the labour of the poor been interrupted; but to introduce them into an opulent kingdom is the wrong way to conſult the intereſt of it. I ſhall end my remarks on the Grumbling Hive, with aſſuring the champions of national frugality, that it would be impoſſible for the Perſians, and other Eaſtern people, to purchaſe the vaſt quantities of fine Engliſh cloth they conſume, ſhould we load our women with leſs cargoes of Aſiatic ſilks.

AN ESSAY ON CHARITY, AND CHARITY-SCHOOLS.

CHARITY is that virtue, by which part of that ſincere love we have for ourſelves, is transferred pure and unmix'd to others, not tied to us by the bonds of friendſhip or conſanguinity, and even mere ſtrangers, whom we have no obligation to, nor hope or expect any thing from. If we leſſen any ways the rigour of this definition, part of the virtue muſt be loſt. What we do for our friends and kindred, we do partly for ourſelves: when a man acts in behalf of nephews or nieces, and ſays, they are my brother's children, I do it out of charity; he deceives you: for if he is capable, it is expected from him, and he does it partly for his own ſake: if he values the eſteem of the world, and is nice as to honour and reputation, he is obliged to have a greater regard to them than for ſtrangers, or elſe he muſt ſuffer in his character.

The

The exerciſe of this virtue relates either to opinion, or to action, and is manifeſted in what we think of others, or what we do for them. To be charitable then, in the firſt place, we ought to put the beſt conſtruction on all that others do or ſay, that the things are capable of. If a man builds a fine houſe, tho' he has not one ſymptom of humility, furniſhes it richly, and lays out a good eſtate in plate and pictures, we ought not to think that he does it out of vanity, but to encourage artiſts, employ hands, and ſet the poor to work for the good of his country: and if a man ſleeps at church, ſo he does not ſnore, we ought to think he ſhuts his eyes to increaſe his attention. The reaſon is, becauſe in our turn, we deſire that our utmoſt avarice ſhould paſs for frugality; and that for religion which we know to be hypocriſy. Secondly, That virtue is conſpicuous in us, when we beſtow our time and labour for nothing, or employ our credit with others in behalf of thoſe who ſtand in need of it, and yet could not expect ſuch an aſſiſtance from our friendſhip or nearneſs of blood. The laſt branch of charity conſiſts in giving away (whilſt we are alive) what we value ourſelves, to ſuch as I have already named; being contented rather to have and enjoy leſs, than not to relieve thoſe who want, and ſhall be the objects of our choice.

This virtue is often counterfeited by a paſſion of ours called pity or compaſſion, which conſiſts in a fellow-feeling and condolence for the misfortunes and calamities of others: all mankind are more or leſs affected with it; but the weakeſt minds generally the moſt. It is raiſed in us when the ſufferings and miſery of other creatures make

make so forcible an impression upon us, as to make us uneasy. It comes in either at the eye or ear, or both; and the nearer and more violently the object of compassion strikes those senses, the greater disturbance it causes in us, often to such a degree as to occasion great pain and anxiety.

Should any one of us be lock'd up in a ground-room, where, in a yard joining to it there was a thriving good humour'd child at play, of two or three years old, so near us, that through the grates of the window we could almost touch it with our hand; and if, whilst we took delight in the harmless diversion, and imperfect prittle-prattle of the innocent babe, a nasty over-grown sow should come in upon the child, set it a screaming, and frighten it out of its wits; it is natural to think that this would make us uneasy, and that with crying out, and making all the menacing noise we could, we should endeavour to drive the sow away. But if this should happen to be an half-starved creature, that, mad with hunger, went roaming about in quest of food, and we should behold the ravenous brute, in spite of our cries, and all the threatning gestures we could think of, actually lay hold of the helpless infant, destroy and devour it; to see her widely open her destructive jaws, and the poor lamb beat down with greedy haste; to look on the defenceless posture of tender limbs, first trampled on, then tore asunder; to see the filthy snout digging in the yet living intrails, suck up the smoaking blood, and now and then to hear the crackling of the bones, and the cruel animal with savage pleasure, grunt over the horrid banquet; to hear and see all this, what tortures would it give the soul beyond expression! Let me see the most shining

virtue

virtue the moralists have to boast of, so manifest either to the person possessed of it, or those who behold his actions; let me see courage, or the love of one's country, so apparent without any mixture, clear'd and distinct, the first from pride and anger, the other from the love of glory, and every shadow of self interest, as this pity would be clear'd and distinct from all other passions. There would be no need of virtue or self-denial to be mov'd to such a scene; and not only a man of humanity, of good morals and commiseration, but likewise an highwayman, an housebreaker, or a murderer, could feel anxieties on such an occasion; how calamitous soever a man's circumstances might be, he would forget his misfortunes for the time, and the most troublesome passion would give way to pity, and not one of the species has a heart so obdurate or engaged, that it would not ake at such a sight, as no language has an epithet to fit it.

Many will wonder at what I have said of pity, that it comes in at the eye or ear, but the truth of this will be known when we consider that the nearer the object is the more we suffer, and the more remote it is the less we are troubled with it. To see people executed for crimes, if it is a great way off, moves us but little, in comparison to what it does when we are near enough to see the motion of the soul in their eyes, observe their fears and agonies, and are able to read the pangs in every feature of the face. When the object is quite removed from our senses, the relation of the calamities or the reading of them can never raise in us the passion called pity. We may be concern'd at bad news, the loss and misfortunes of friends and those whose cause we espouse; but this is not

pity

pity, but grief or sorrow; the same as we feel for the death of those we love, or the destruction of what we value.

When we hear that three or four thousand men, all strangers to us, are killed with the sword, or forced into some river where they are drowned, we say and perhaps believe that we pity them. It is humanity bids us have compassion with the sufferings of others, and reason tells us, that whether a thing be far off or done in our sight, our sentiments concerning it ought to be the same, and we should be ashamed to own that we felt no commiseration in us when any thing requires it. He is a cruel man, he has no bowels of compassion: all these things are the effects of reason and humanity; but nature makes no compliments. When the object does not strike, the body does not feel it; and when men talk of pitying people out of sight, they are to be believed in the same manner as when they say, that they are our humble servants. In paying the usual civilities at first meeting, those who do not see one another every day, are often very glad and very sorry alternately for five or six times together in less than two minutes, and yet at parting carry away not a jot more of grief or joy than they met with. The same it is with pity, and it is a thing of choice no more than fear or anger. Those who have a strong and lively imagination, and can make representations of things in their minds, as they would be if they were actually before them, may work themselves up into something that resembles compassion; but this is done by art, and often the help of a little enthusiasm, and is only an imitation of pity; the heart feels little of it, and it is as faint as what we suffer at the acting of a tragedy; where our judgment leaves

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part of the mind uninformed, and to indulge a lazy wantonness suffers it to be led into an error, which is necessary to have a passion raised, the slight strokes of which are not unpleasant to us when the soul is in an idle unactive humour.

As pity is often by ourselves and in our own cases mistaken for charity, so it assumes the shape and borrows the very name of it. A beggar asks you to exert that virtue for Jesus Christ's sake, but all the while his great design is to raise your pity. He represents to your view the worst side of his ailments and bodily infirmities; in chosen words he gives you an epitome of his calamities real or fictitious; and whilst he seems to pray God that he will open your heart, he is actually at work upon your ears; the greatest profligate of them flies to religion for aid, and assists his cant with a doleful tone, and a study'd dismality of gestures: but he trusts not to one passion only, he flatters your pride with titles and names of honour and distinction; your avarice he sooths with often repeating to you the smallness of the gift he sues for, and conditional promises of future returns with an interest extravagant beyond the statute of usury, tho' out of the reach of it. People not used to great cities, being thus attacked on all sides, are commonly forced to yield, and can't help giving something, tho' they can hardly spare it themselves. How oddly are we managed by self-love! it is ever watching in our defence, and yet, to soothe, a predominant passion, obliges us to act against our interest: for when pity seizes us, if we can but imagine that we contribute to the relief of him we have compassion with, and are instrumental to the lessening of his sorrows, it eases us, and therefore

pitiful

pitiful people often give an alms when they really feel that they would rather not.

When sores are very bare or seem otherwise afflicting in an extraordinary manner, and the beggar can bear to have them exposed to the cold air, it is very shocking to some people; 'tis a shame, they cry, such sights should be suffered. The main reason is, it touches their pity feelingly, and at the same time they are resolved, either because they are covetous, or count it an idle expence, to give nothing, which makes them more uneasy. They turn their eyes, and, where the cries are dismal, some would willingly stop their ears if they were not ashamed. What they can do is to mend their pace, and be very angry in their hearts that beggars should be about the streets. But it is with pity as it is with fear, the more we are conversant with objects that excite either passion, the less we are disturbed by them, and those to whom all these scenes and tones are by custom made familiar, they make little impression upon. The only thing the industrious beggar has left to conquer those fortified hearts, if he can walk either with or without crutches, is to follow close, and with uninterrupted noise teaze and importune them, or try if he can make them buy their peace. Thus thousands give money to beggars from the same motive as they pay their corn-cutter, to walk easy. And many a half-penny is given to impudent and designedly persecuting rascals, whom, if it could be done handsomely, a man would cane with much greater satisfaction. Yet all this by the courtesy of the country is called charity.

The reverse of pity is malice: I have spoke of it where I treat of envy. Those who know what it is to examine themselves, will soon own that it

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is very difficult to trace the root and origin of this passion. It is one of those we are most ashamed of; and therefore the hurtful part of it is easily subdued and corrected by a judicious education. When any body near us stumbles, it is natural, even before reflexion, to stretch out our hands to hinder, or at least break, the fall, which shews that whilst we are calm, we are rather bent to pity. But tho' malice by itself is little to be feared, yet, assisted with pride, it is often mischievous, and becomes most terrible when egg'd on and heightned by anger. There is nothing that more readily or more effectually extinguishes pity than this mixture, which is called cruelty: from whence we may learn, that to perform a meritorious action, it is not sufficient barely to conquer a passion, unless it likewise be done from a laudable principle, and consequently how necessary that clause was in the definition of virtue, that our endeavours were to proceed from "a rational ambition of being good."

Pity, as I have said somewhere else, is the most amiable of all our passions, and there are not many occasions on which we ought to conquer or curb it. A surgeon may be as compassionate as he pleases, so it does not make him omit, or forbear to perform, what he ought to do. Judges likewise and juries may be influenced with pity, if they take care that plain laws and justice itself are not infringed and don't suffer by it. No pity does more mischief in the world than what is excited by the tenderness of parents, and hinders them from managing their children as their rational love to them would require, and themselves could wish it. The sway likewise which this passion bears in the affections of women is more considerable than is commonly imagined, and they daily commit faults that

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are altogether ascribed to lust, and yet are in a great measure owing to pity.

What I named last is not the only passion that mocks and resembles charity; pride and vanity have built more hospitals than all the virtues together. Men are so tenacious of their possessions, and selfishness is so rivetted in our nature, that whoever can but any ways conquer it shall have the applause of the public, and all the encouragement imaginable to conceal his frailty and soothe any other appetite he shall have a mind to indulge. The man that supplies with his private fortune, what the whole must otherwise have provided for, obliges every member of the society, and therefore all the world are ready to pay him their acknowledgment, and think themselves in duty bound to pronounce all such actions virtuous, without examining, or so much as looking into the motives from which they were performed. Nothing is more destructive to virtue or religion itself, than to make men believe that giving money to the poor, tho' they should not part with it till after death, will make a full atonement in the next world, for the sins they have commited in this. A villain who has been guilty of a barbarous murder may, by the help of false witnesses, escape the punishment he deserved: he prospers, we'll say, heaps up great wealth, and by the advice of his father confessor, leaves all his estate to a monastry, and his children beggars. What fine amends has this good christian made for his crimes, and what an honest man was the priest who directed his conscience? He who parts with all he has in his lifetime, whatever principle he acts from, only gives away what was his own; but the rich miser who refuses to assist his nearest relations whilst he is alive,

live, tho' they never designedly disobliged him, and disposes of his money for what we call charitable uses after his death, may imagine of his goodness what he pleases, but he robs his posterity. I am now thinking of a late instance of charity, a prodigious gift that has made a great noise in the world. I have a mind to set it in the light I think it deserves, and beg leave, for once, to please pedants, to treat it somewhat rhetorically.

That a man with small skill in physic and hardly any learning, should by vile arts get into practice, and lay up great wealth, is no mighty wonder; but that he should so deeply work himself into the good opinion of the world, as to gain the general esteem of a nation, and establish a reputation beyond all his contemporaries, with no other qualities but a perfect knowledge of mankind, and a capacity of making the most of it, is something extraordinary. If a man, arrived to such a height of glory, should be almost distracted with pride, sometimes give his attendance on a servant or any mean person for nothing, and at the same time neglect a nobleman that gives exorbitant fees, at other times refuse to leave his bottle for his business without any regard to the quality of the persons that sent for him, or the danger they are in: if he should be surly and morose, affect to be an humourist, treat his patients like dogs, tho' people of distinction, and value no man but what would deify him, and never call in question the certainty of his oracles: if he should insult all the world, affront the first nobility, and extend his insolence even to the royal family: if to maintain as well as to encrease the fame of his sufficiency, he should scorn to consult with his betters on what emergency soever, look down with contempt on the most deserving

deserving of his profession, and never confer with any other physician but what will pay homage to his superior genius, creep to his humour, and never approach him but with all the slavish obsequiousness a court flatterer can treat a prince with: if a man in his life-time should discover, on the one hand, such manifest symptoms of superlative pride, and an insatiable greediness after wealth at the same time, and on the other, no regard to religion, or affection to his kindred, no compassion to the poor, and hardly any humanity to his fellow creatures; if he gave no proofs that he loved his country, had a public spirit, or was a lover of arts, of books or of literature, what must we judge of his motive, the principle he acted from, when after his death we find that he has left a trifle among his relations who stood in need of it, and an immense treasure to an university that did not want it?

Let a man be as charitable as it is possible for him to be without forfeiting his reason or good sense; can he think otherwise but that this famous physician did, in the making of his will, as in every thing else, indulge his darling passion, entertaining his vanity with the happiness of the contrivance? When he thought on the monuments and inscriptions, with all the sacrifices of praise that would be made to him, and above all the yearly tribute of thanks, of reverence and veneration that would be paid to his memory with so much pomp and solemnity; when he considered, how in all these performances wit and invention would be rack'd, art and eloquence ransack'd to find out encomiums suitable to the public spirit, the munificence and the dignity of the benefactor, and the artful gratitude of the receivers; when he

thought on, I ſay, and conſidered theſe things, it muſt have thrown his ambitious ſoul into vaſt ecſtaſies of pleaſure, eſpecially when he ruminated on the duration of his glory, and the perpetuity he would by this means procure to his name. Charitable opinions are often ſtupidly falſe; when men are dead and gone, we ought to judge of their actions as we do of books, and neither wrong their underſtanding nor our own. The Britiſh Eſculapius was undeniably a man of ſenſe, and if he had been influenced by charity, a public ſpirit, or the love of learning, and had aimed at the good of mankind in general, or that of his own profeſſion in particular, and acted from any of theſe principles, he could never have made ſuch a will; becauſe ſo much wealth might have been better managed, and a man of much leſs capacity would have found out ſeveral better ways of laying out the money. But if we conſider, that he was as undeniably a man of vaſt pride, as he was a man of ſenſe, and give ourſelves leave only to ſurmiſe, that this extraordinary gift might have proceeded from ſuch a motive, we ſhall preſently diſcover the excellency of his parts, and his conſummate knowledge of the world: for if a man would render himſelf immortal, be ever praiſed and deify'd after his death, and have all the acknowledgment, the honours and compliments paid to his memory, that vain-glory herſelf could wiſh for, I don't think it in human ſkill to invent a more effectual method. Had he followed arms, behaved himſelf in five and twenty ſieges, and as many battles, with the bravery of an Alexander, and expoſed his life and limbs to all the fatigues and dangers of war for fifty campaigns together; or, devoting himſelf to the muſes, ſacrificed his pleaſure, his reſt and his health

health to literature, and ſpent all his days in a laborious ſtudy, and the toils of learning; or elſe, abandoning all worldly intereſt, excell'd in probity, temperance and auſterity of life, and ever trod in the ſtricteſt path of virtue, he would not ſo effectually have provided for the eternity of his name, as after a voluptuous life, and the luxurious gratification of his paſſions, he has now done without any trouble or ſelf-denial, only by the choice in the diſpoſal of his money, when he was forced to leave it.

A rich miſer who is thoroughly ſelfiſh, and would receive the intereſt of his money even after his death, has nothing elſe to do than to defraud his relations, and leave his eſtate to ſome famous univerſity: they are the beſt markets to buy immortality at with little merit; in them knowledge, wit, and penetration are the growth, I had almoſt ſaid, the manufacture of the place: there men are profoundly ſkill'd in human nature, and know what it is their benefactors want; and there extraordinary bounties ſhall always meet with an extraordinary recompence, and the meaſure of the gift is ever the ſtandard of their praiſes, whether the donor be a phyſician or a tinker, when once the living witneſſes that might laugh at them are extinct. I can never think on the anniverſary of the thankſgiving-day decreed to a great man, but it puts me in mind of the miraculous cures, and other ſurpriſing things that will be ſaid of him a hundred years hence, and I dare prognoſticate that, before the end of the preſent century, he will have ſtories forged in his favour, (for rhetoricians are never upon oath) that ſhall be as fabulous at leaſt as any legends of the ſaints.

Of all this our subtile benefactor was not ignorant, he understood universities, their genius, and their politics, and from thence foresaw and knew that the incense to be offered to him would not cease with the present or few succeeding generations, and that it would not only for the trifling space of three or four hundred years, but that it would continue to be paid to him thro' all changes and revolutions of government and religion, as long as the nation subsists, and the island itself remains.

It is deplorable that the proud should have such temptations to wrong their lawful heirs: for when a man in ease and affluence, brim-full of vain-glory, and humour'd in his pride by the greatest of a polite nation, has such an infallible security in petto for an everlasting homage and adoration to his *manes*, to be paid in such an extraordinary manner, he is like a hero in battle, who in feasting on his own imagination tastes all the felicity of enthusiasm. It buoys him up in sickness, relieves him in pain, and either guards him against or keeps from his view all the terrors of death, and the most dismal apprehensions of futurity.

Should it be said that to be thus censorious, and look into matters and mens consciences with that nicety, will discourage people from laying out their money this way; and that let the money and the motive of the donor be what they will, he that receives the benefit is the gainer; I would not disown the charge: but am of opinion, that this is no injury to the public, should one prevent men from crowding too much treasure into the dead stock of the kingdom. There ought to be a vast disproportion between the active and unactive part of the society to make it happy; and where this

this is not regarded, the multitude of gifts and endowments may soon be excessive and detrimental to a nation. Charity, where it is too extensive, seldom fails of promoting sloth and idleness, and is good for little in the common-wealth but to breed drones and destroy industry. The more colleges and alms-houses you build, the more you may. The first founders and benefactors may have just and good intentions, and would perhaps, for their own reputations, seem to labour for the most laudable purposes; but the executors of those wills, the governors that come after them, have quite other views, and we seldom see charities long applied as it was first intended they should be. I have no design that is cruel, nor the least aim that favours of inhumanity. To have sufficient hospitals for sick and wounded I look upon as an indispensible duty both in peace and war: young children without parents, old age without support, and all that are disabled from working, ought to be taken care of with tenderness and alacrity. But as on the one hand I would have none neglected that are helpless, and really necessitous without being wanting to themselves, so on the other I would not encourage beggary or laziness in the poor: all should be set to work that are anywise able, and scrutinies should be made even among the infirm: employments might be found out for most of our lame, and many that are unfit for hard labour, as well as the blind, as long as their health and strength would allow of it. What I have now under consideration leads me naturally to that kind of distraction the nation has laboured under for some time, the enthusiastic passion for charity-schools.

The generality are so bewitched with the usefulness and excellency of them, that whoever dares

openly oppose them is in danger of being stoned by the rabble. Children that are taught the principles of religion, and can read the word of God, have a greater opportunity to improve in virtue and good morality, and must certainly be more civiliz'd than others, that are suffered to run at random, and have no body to look after them. How perverse must be the judgment of those, who would not rather see children decently dress'd, with clean linen at least once a week, that in an orderly manner follow their master to church, than in every open place meet with a company of black-guards, without shirts or any thing whole about them, that insensible of their misery are continually increasing it with oaths and imprecations! Can any one doubt but these are the great nursery of thieves and pick-pockets? What numbers of felons and other criminals have we tried and convicted every sessions! this will be prevented by charity-schools; and, when the children of the poor receive a better education, the society will in a few years reap the benefit of it, and the nation be cleared of so many miscreants as now this great city and all the country about it are filled with.

This is the general cry, and he that speaks the least word against it, an uncharitable, hard-hearted and inhuman, if not a wicked, prophane and atheistical wretch. As to the comelineſs of the sight, no body disputes it; but I would not have a nation pay too dear for so transient a pleasure: and, if we may set aside the finery of the shew, every thing that is material in this popular oration might soon be answered.

As to religion, the most knowing and polite part of a nation have every where the least of it; craft has a greater hand in making rogues than stupidity,

dity, and vice in general is no where more predominant than where arts and sciences flourish. Ignorance is, to a proverb, counted to be the mother of devotion; and it is certain that we shall find innocence and honesty no where more general than among the most illiterate, the poor silly country people. The next to be considered, are the manners and civility that by charity-schools are to be grafted into the poor of the nation. I confess that in my opinion to be in any degree possess'd of what I named is a frivolous if not a hurtful quality, at least nothing is less requisite in the laborious poor. It is not compliments we want of them, but their work and assiduity. But I give up this article with all my heart, good manners we'll say are necessary to all people, but which way will they be furnished with them in a charity-school? Boys there may be taught to pull of their caps promiscuously to all they meet, unless it be a beggar: but that they should acquire in it any civility beyond that I can't conceive.

The master is not greatly qualified, as may be guessed by his salary; and if he could teach them manners, he has not time for it: whilst they are at school they are either learning or saying their lesson to him, or employed in writing or arithmetic; and as soon as school is done, they are as much at liberty as other poor peoples children. It is precept and the example of parents, and those they eat, drink and converse with, that have an influence upon the minds of children: reprobate parents that take ill courses, and are regardless to their children, won't have a mannerly civilized off-spring, tho' they went to a charity-school till they were married. The honest pains-taking people, be they never so poor, if they have any notion of

goodness and decency themselves, will keep their children in awe, and never suffer them to rake about the streets, and ly out a-nights. Those who will work themselves, and have any command over their children, will make them do something or other that turns to profit as soon as they are able, be it never so little; and such as are so ungovernable, that neither words or blows can work upon them, no charity-school will mend: nay, experience teaches us, that among the charity-boys there are abundance of bad ones that swear and curse about, and, bar the clothes, are as much black-guard as ever Tower-hill or St. James's produced.

I am now come to the enormous crimes, and vast multitude of malefactors, that are all laid upon the want of this notable education. That abundance of thefts and robberies are daily committed in and about the city, and great numbers yearly suffer death for those crimes, is undeniable. But because this is ever hooked in when the usefulness of charity-schools is called in question, as if there was no dispute, but they would in a great measure remedy, and in time prevent those disorders; I intend to examine into the real causes of those mischiefs so justly complained of, and doubt not but to make it appear that charity schools, and every thing else that promotes idleness, and keeps the poor from working, are more accessary to the growth of villany, than the want of reading and writing, or even the grossest ignorance and stupidity.

Here I must interrupt myself to obviate the clamours of some impatient people, who upon reading of what I said last will cry out, That far from encouraging idleness, they bring up their charity-children

children to handicrafts, as well as trades, and all manner of honeſt labour. I promiſe them that I ſhall take notice of that hereafter, and anſwer it without ſtifling the leaſt thing that can be ſaid in their behalf.

In a populous city it is not difficult for a young raſcal, that has puſh'd himſelf into a crowd, with a ſmall hand and nimble fingers to whip away a handkerchief or ſnuff-box from a man who is thinking on buſineſs, and regardleſs of his pocket. Succeſs in ſmall crimes ſeldom fails of uſhering in greater; and he that picks pockets with impunity at twelve, is likely to be a houſe-breaker at ſixteen, and a thorough-paced villain long before he is twenty. Thoſe who are cautious as well as bold, and no drunkards, may do a world of miſchief before they are diſcovered. And this is one of the greateſt inconveniencies of ſuch vaſt over-grown cities as London or Paris, that they harbour rogues and villains as granaries do vermin; they afford a perpetual ſhelter to the worſt of people, and are places of ſafety to thouſands of criminals, who daily commit theſts and burglaries, and yet, by often changing their places of abode, may conceal themſelves for many years, and will perhaps for ever eſcape the hands of juſtice, unleſs by chance they are apprehended in a fact. And when they are taken, the evidences perhaps want clearneſs, or are otherwiſe inſufficient, the depoſitions are not ſtrong enough, juries and often judges are touched with compaſſion; proſecutors, tho' vigorous at firſt, often relent before the time of trial comes on: few men preſer the public ſafety to their own eaſe; a man of good-nature is not eaſily reconciled with taking away of another man's life, tho' he has deſerved the gallows: to be the cauſe

of any one's death, tho' juſtice requires it, is what moſt people are ſtartled at, eſpecially men of conſcience and probity, when they want judgment or reſolution. As this is the reaſon that thouſands eſcape, that deſerve to be capitally puniſhed, ſo it is likewiſe the cauſe that there are ſo many offenders, who boldly venture, in hopes that, if they are taken, they ſhall have the ſame good fortune of getting off.

But if men did imagine and were fully perſuaded, that as ſurely as they committed a fact that deſerved hanging, ſo ſurely they would be hanged, executions would be very rare, and the moſt deſperate felon would almoſt as ſoon hang himſelf as he would break open a houſe. To be ſtupid and ignorant is ſeldom the character of a thief. Robberies on the high-way and other bold crimes are generally perpetrated by rogues of ſpirit and a genius, and villains of any fame are commonly ſubtile cunning fellows, that are well verſed in the method of trials, and acquainted with every quirk in the law that can be of uſe to them, that overlook not the ſmalleſt flaw in an indictment, and know how to make an advantage of the leaſt ſlip of an evidence and every thing elſe that can ſerve their turn to bring them off.

It is a mighty ſaying, that it is better that five hundred guilty people ſhould eſcape, than that one innocent perſon ſhould ſuffer: this maxim is only true as to futurity, and in relation to another world; but it is very falſe in regard to the temporal welfare of the ſociety. It is a terrible thing a man ſhould be put to death for a crime he is not guilty of; yet ſo oddly circumſtances may meet in the infinite variety of accidents, that it is poſſible it ſhould come to paſs, all the wiſdom that judges,

judges, and conscientiousness that juries may be possessed of, notwithstanding. But where men endeavour to avoid this with all the care and precaution human prudence is able to take, should such a misfortune happen perhaps once or twice in half a score years, on condition that all that time justice should be administred with all the strictness and severity, and not one guilty person suffered to escape with impunity; it would be a vast advantage to a nation, not only as to the securing of every one's property and the peace of the society in general, but it would likewise save the lives of hundreds, if not thousands, of necessitous wretches, that are daily hanged for trifles, and who would never have attempted any thing against the law, or at least have ventured on capital crimes, if the hopes of getting off, should they be taken, had not been one of the motives that animated their resolution. Therefore where the laws are plain and severe, all the remissness in the execution of them, lenity of juries and frequency of pardons are in the main a much greater cruelty to a populous state or kingdom, than the use of racks and the most exquisite torments.

Another great cause of those evils is to be looked for in the want of precaution in those that are robbed, and the many temptations that are given. Abundance of families are very remiss in looking after the safety of their houses; some are robbed by the carelessness of servants, others for having grudged the price of bars and shutters. Brass and pewter are ready money, they are every where about the house; plate, perhaps, and money are better secur'd, but an ordinary lock is soon open'd, when once a rogue is got in.

It is manifest then that many different causes concur, and several scarce avoidable evils contribute to the misfortune of being pestered with pilferers, thieves and robbers, which all countries ever were and ever will be, more or less, in and near considerable towns, more especially vast and overgrown cities. 'Tis opportunity makes the thief; carelessness and neglect in fastening doors and windows, the excessive tenderness of juries and prosecutors, the small difficulty of getting a reprieve, and frequency of pardons, but above all, the many examples of those who are known to be guilty, are destitute both of friends and money; and yet by imposing on the jury, baffling the witnesses, or other tricks and stratagems, find out means to escape the gallows. These are all strong temptations that conspire to draw in the necessitous, who want principle and education.

To these you may add as auxiliaries to mischief, an habit of sloth and idleness, and strong aversion to labour and assiduity, which all young people will contract that are not brought up to downright working, or at least kept employed most days in the week, and the greatest part of the day. All children that are idle, even the best of either sex, are bad company to one another whenever they meet.

It is not then the want of reading and writing, but the concurrence and a complication of more substantial evils, that are the perpetual nursery of abandoned profligates in great and opulent nations; and whoever would accuse ignorance, stupidity and dastardness, as the first, and what physicians call the procatarctic cause, let him examine into the lives, and narrowly inspect the conversations and actions of ordinary rogues and our common felons,

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and he will find the reverse to be true, and that the blame ought rather to be laid on the excessive cunning and subtlety, and too much knowledge in general, which the worst of miscreants and the scum of the nation are possessed of.

Human nature is every where the same: genius, wit and natural parts are always sharpened by application, and may be as much improved in the practice of the meanest villany, as they can in the exercise of industry or the most heroic virtue. There is no station of life, where pride, emulation and the love of glory may not be displayed. A young pick-pocket that makes a jest of his angry prosecutor, and dexterously wheedles the old justice into an opinion of his innocence, is envied by his equals, and admired by all the fraternity. Rogues have the same passions to gratify as other men, and value themselves on their honour and faithfulness to one another, their courage, intrepidity and other manly virtues, as well as people of better professions; and in daring enterprizes, the resolution of a robber may be as much supported by his pride, as that of an honest soldier, who fights for his country.

The evils then we complain of are owing to quite other causes than what we assign for them. Men must be very wavering in their sentiments, if not inconsistent with themselves, that at one time will uphold knowledge and learning to be the most proper means to promote religion, and defend at another that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

But if the reasons alledged for this general education are not the true ones, whence comes it that the whole kingdom both great and small are so unanimously fond of it? There is no miraculous conversion to be perceived among us, no universal

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bent to goodness and morality, that has on a sudden overspread the island: there is as much wickedness as ever, charity is as cold, and real virtue as scarce: the year seventeen hundred and twenty has been as prolific in deep villany, and remarkable for selfish crimes and premeditated mischief, as can be pick'd out of any century whatever; not committed by poor ignorant rogues that could neither read nor write, but the better sort of people as to wealth and education, that most of them were great masters in arithmetic, and liv'd in reputation and splendour. To say that when a thing is once in vogue, the multitude follows the common cry, that charity-schools are in fashion in the same manner as hoop'd-petticoats, by caprice, and that no more reason can be given for the one than the other, I am afraid will not be satisfactory to the curious, and at the same time, I doubt much, whether it will be thought of great weight by many of my readers, what I can advance besides.

The real source of this present folly is certainly very abstruse and remote from sight, but he that affords the least light in matters of great obscurity does a kind office to the enquirer. I am willing to allow, that in the beginning the first design of those schools was good and charitable; but to know what encreases them so extravagantly, and who are the chief promoters of them now, we must make our search another way, and address ourselves to the rigid party-men that are zealous for their cause, either episcopacy or presbytery; but as the latter are but the poor mimics of the first, tho' equally pernicious, we shall confine ourselves to the national church, and take a turn thro' a parish that is not blessed yet with a

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charity-ſchool.—But here I think myſelf obliged in conſcience, to ask pardon of my reader for the tireſome dance I am going to lead him, if he intends to follow me; and therefore I deſire that he would either throw away the book and leave me, or elſe arm himſelf with the patience of Job to endure all the impertinencies of low life, the cant and tittle-tattle he is like to meet with, before he can go half a ſtreet's length.

Firſt we muſt look out among the young ſhopkeepers, that have not half the buſineſs they could wiſh for, and conſequently time to ſpare. If ſuch a new-beginner has but a little pride more than ordinary, and loves to be meddling, he is ſoon mortify'd in the veſtry, where men of ſubſtance and long ſtanding, or elſe your pert litigious or opinionated bawlers, that have obtained the title of notable men, commonly bear the ſway. His ſtock and perhaps credit are but inconſiderable; and yet he finds within himſelf a ſtrong inclination to govern. A man thus qualified thinks it a thouſand pities there is no charity-ſchool in the pariſh: he communicates his thoughts to two or three of his acquaintance firſt; they do the ſame to others, and in a month's time there is nothing elſe talk'd of in the pariſh. Every body invents diſcourſes and arguments to the purpoſe, according to his abilities.—It is an errant ſhame, ſays one, to ſee ſo many poor that are not able to educate their children, and no proviſion made for them where we have ſo many rich people. What d'ye talk of rich? anſwers another, they are the worſt: they muſt have ſo many ſervants, coaches and horſes: they can lay out hundreds, and ſome of them thouſands of pounds for jewels and furniture, but not ſpare a ſhilling to a poor creature

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that wants it: when modes and fashions are discoursed of they can hearken with great attention, but are wilfully deaf to the cries of the poor. Indeed neighbour, replies the first, you are very right: I don't believe there is a worse parish in England for charity than ours: 'tis such as you and I that would do good if it was in our power, but of those that are able there's very few that are willing.

Others more violent fall upon particular persons, and fasten slander on every man of substance they dislike, and a thousand idle stories in behalf of charity are rais'd and handed about to defame their betters. Whilst this is doing throughout the neighbourhood, he that first broach'd the pious thought, rejoices to hear so many come into it, and places no small merit in being the first cause of so much talk and bustle: but neither himself nor his intimates being considerable enough to set such a thing on foot, some body must be found out who has greater interest: he is to be addressed to, and shewed the necessity, the goodness, the usefulness, and Christianity of such a design: next he is to be flattered.—Indeed Sir, if you would espouse it, no body has a greater influence over the best of the parish than yourself: one word of you, I am sure, would engage such an one: if you once take it to heart, Sir, I would look upon the thing as done, Sir.—If by this kind of rhetoric they can draw in some old fool, or conceited busy-body, that is rich, or at least reputed to be such, the thing begins to be feasible, and is discours'd of among the better sort. The parson, or his curate, and the lecturer are every where extolling the pious project. The first promoters mean while are indefatigable;

defatigable: if they were guilty of any open vice they either sacrifice it to the love of reputation, or at least grow more cautious and learn to play the hypocrite, well knowing, that to be flagitious, or noted for enormities is inconsistent with the zeal which they pretend to for works of supererogation and excessive piety.

The number of these diminutive patriots encreasing, they form themselves into a society, and appoint stated meetings, where every one, concealing his vices, has liberty to display his talents. Religion is the theme, or else the misery of the times occasioned by atheism and prophaneness. Men of worth, who live in splendour, and thriving people that have a great deal of business of their own, are seldom seen among them. Men of sense and education likewise, if they have nothing to do, generally look out for better diversion. All those who have a higher aim, shall have their attendance easily excused, but contribute they must, or else lead a weary life in the parish. Two sorts of people come in voluntarily, stanch churchmen, who have good reasons for it in petto, and your sly sinners that look upon it as meritorious, and hope that it will expiate their guilt, and Satan be nonsuited by it at a small expence. Some come into it to save their credit, others to retrieve it, according as they have either lost, or are afraid of losing it; others again, do it prudentially, to encrease their trade and get acquaintance; and many would own to you, if they dared to be sincere, and speak the truth, that they would never have been concern'd in it, but to be better known in the parish. Men of sense that see the folly of it, and have no body to fear, are persuaded into it, not to be thought singular or to

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run counter to all the world; even those who are resolute at first in denying it, it is ten to one, but at last they are teaz'd and importun'd into a compliance. The charge being calculated for most of the inhabitants, the insignificancy of it is another argument that prevails much, and many are drawn in to be contributers, who without that would have stood out, and strenuously opposed the whole scheme.

The governors are made of the middling people, and many inferior to that class are made use of, if the forwardness of their zeal can but overbalance the meanness of their condition. If you should ask these worthy rulers, why they take upon them so much trouble to the detriment of their own affairs and loss of time, either singly or the whole body of them, they would all unanimously answer, that it is the regard they have for religion and the church, and the pleasure they take in contributing to the good and eternal welfare of so many poor innocents, that in all probability would run into perdition in these wicked times of scoffers and freethinkers. They have no thought of interest, even those, who deal in, and provide these children with what they want, have not the least design of getting by what they sell for their use, and tho' in every thing else their avarice and greediness after lucre be glaringly conspicuous, in this affair they are wholly divested from selfishness, and have no worldly ends. One motive above all, which is none of the least with the most of them, is to be carefully conceal'd, I mean the satisfaction there is in ordering and directing: there is a melodious sound in the word governor, that is charming to mean people: every body admires sway and superiority, even *imperium in bellua*s

belluas has its delights, there is a pleaſure in ruling over any thing, and it is this chiefly that ſupports human nature in the tedious ſlavery of ſchoolmaſter. But if there be the leaſt ſatisfaction in governing the children, it muſt be raviſhing to govern the ſchoolmaſter himſelf. What fine things are ſaid, and perhaps wrote to a governor, when a ſchoolmaſter is to be choſen! How the praiſes tickle, and how pleaſant it is not to find out the fulſomeneſs of the flattery, the ſtiffneſs of the expreſſions, or the pedantry of the ſtile!

Thoſe who can examine nature will always find that what theſe people moſt pretend to is the leaſt, and what they utterly deny their greateſt motive. No habit or quality is more eaſily acquired than hypocriſy, nor any thing ſooner learned than to deny the ſentiments of our hearts, and the principle we act from: but the ſeeds of every paſſion are innate to us, and nobody comes into the world without them. If we will mind the paſtimes and recreations of young children, we ſhall obſerve nothing more general in them, than that all who are ſuffered to do it, take delight in playing with kittens and little puppy dogs. What makes them always lugging and pulling the poor creatures about the houſe, proceeds from nothing elſe but that they can do with them what they pleaſe, and put them into what poſture and ſhape they liſt; and the pleaſure they receive from this is originally owing to the love of dominion and that uſurping temper all mankind are born with.

When this great work is brought to bear, and actually accompliſh'd, joy and ſerenity ſeems to overſpread the face of every inhabitant, which likewiſe to account for I muſt make a ſhort digreſſion.

sion. There are every where slovenly sorry fellows, that are used to be seen always ragged and dirty: these people we look upon as miserable creatures in general, and, unless they are very remarkable, we take little notice of them; and yet among these there are handsome and well-shap'd men as well as among their betters. But if one of these turns soldier, what a vast alteration is there observ'd in him for the better, as soon as he is put in his red coat, and we see him look smart with his grenadiers cap, and a great ammunition sword! All who knew him before are struck with other ideas of his qualities, and the judgment which both men and women form of him in their minds is very different from what it was. There is something analogous to this in the sight of charity children; there is a natural beauty in uniformity which most people delight in. It is diverting to the eye to see children well matched, either boys or girls, march two and two in good order; and to have them all whole and tight in the same clothes, and trimming must add to the comelineſs of the sight; and what makes it still more generally entertaining is the imaginary share which even servants, and the meaneſt in the parish, have in it, to whom it cost nothing: our parish church, our charity children: in all this there is a shadow of property that tickles every body that has a right to make use of the words, but more especially those who actually contribute, and had a great hand in advancing the pious work.

It is hardly conceivable that men should so little know their own hearts, and be so ignorant of their inward condition, as to mistake frailty, passion and enthusiasm, for goodness, virtue and charity; yet nothing is more true than that the satisfaction,

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the joy and transports they feel on the accounts I named, pass with these miserable judges for principles of piety and religion. Whoever will consider what I have said for two or three pages, and suffer his imagination to rove a little further on what he has heard and seen concerning this subject, will be furnished with sufficient reasons, abstract from the love of God and true Christianity, why charity-schools are in such uncommon vogue, and so unanimously approv'd of and admired among all sorts and conditions of people. It is a theme which every body can talk of and understands thoroughly, there is not a more inexhaustible fund for tittle-tattle, and a variety of low conversation in hoy-boats and stage-coaches. If a governor, that in behalf of the school or the sermon exerted himself more than ordinary, happens to be in company, how he is commended by the women, and his zeal and charitable disposition extoll'd to the skies! Upon my word, sir, says an old lady, we are all very much obliged to you, I don't think any of the other governours could have made interest enough to procure us a bishop; it was on your account I am told that his lordship came, tho' he was not very well: to which the other replies very gravely, That it is his duty, but that he values no trouble nor fatigue so he can be but serviceable to the children, poor lambs: indeed, says he, I was resolved to get a pair of lawn sleeves, tho' I rid all night for it, and I am very glad I was not disappointed.

Sometimes the school itself is discoursed of, and of whom in all the parish it is most expected he should build one: the old room where it is now kept is ready to drop down; such a one had a vast estate left him by his uncle, and a great deal of money

money besides; a thousand pounds would be nothing in his pocket.

At others the great crowds are talked of that are seen at some churches, and the considerable sums that are gathered; from whence by an easy transition they go over to the abilities, the different talents and orthodoxy of clergymen. Dr— is a man of great parts and learning, and I believe he is very hearty for the church, but I don't like him for a charity-sermon. There is no better man in the world than ———; he forces the money out of their pockets. When he preached last for our children, I am sure there was abundance of people that gave more than they intended when they came to church. I could see it in their faces, and rejoiced at it heartily.

Another charm that renders charity-schools so bewitching to the multitude is the general opinion established among them, that they are not only actually beneficial to society as to temporal happiness, but likewise that Christianity enjoins and requires of us, we should erect them for our future welfare. They are earnestly and fervently recommended by the whole body of the clergy, and have more labour and eloquence laid out upon them than any other Christian duty; not by young parsons or poor scholars of little credit, but the most learned of our prelates and the most eminent for orthodoxy, even those who do not often fatigue themselves on any other occasion. As to religion, there is no doubt but they know what is chiefly required of us, and consequently the most necessary to salvation: and as to the world, who should understand the interest of the kingdom better than the wisdom of the nation, of which the lords spiritual are so considerable a branch? The consequence

consequence of this sanction is, first, that those, who with their purses or power are instrumental to the encrease or maintenance of these schools, are tempted to place a greater merit in what they do than otherwise they could suppose it deserved. Secondly, that all the rest, who either cannot or will not anywise contribute towards them, have still a very good reason why they should speak well of them; for tho' it be difficult, in things that interfere with our passions, to act well, it is always in our power to wish well, because it is performed with little cost. There is hardly a person so wicked among the superstitious vulgar, but in the liking he has for charity-schools, he imagines to see a glimmering hope that it will make an atonement for his sins, from the same principle as the most vicious comfort themselves with the love and veneration they bear to the church, and the greatest profligates find an opportunity in it to shew the rectitude of their inclinations at no expences.

But if all these were not inducements sufficient to make men stand up in defence of the idol I speak of, there is another that will infallibly bribe most people to be advocates for it. We all naturally love triumph; and whoever engages in this cause is sure of conquest, at least in nine companies out of ten. Let him dispute with whom he will, considering the speciousness of the pretence, and the majority he has on his side, it is a castle, an impregnable fortress he can never be beat out of: and was the most sober, virtuous man alive to produce all the arguments to prove the detriment charity-schools, at least the multiplicity of them, do to society, which I shall give hereafter, and such as are yet stronger, against the greatest scoundrel in the world, who should only make use of the common

mon cant of charity and religion, the vogue would be against the first, and himself lose his cause in the opinion of the vulgar.

The rise then and original of all the bustle and clamour that is made throughout the kingdom in behalf of charity-schools is chiefly built on frailty and human passion, at least it is more than possible that a nation should have the same fondness, and feel the same zeal for them as are shewn in ours, and yet not to be prompted to it by any principle of virtue or religion. Encouraged by this consideration, I shall with the greater liberty attack this vulgar error, and endeavour to make it evident, that far from being beneficial, this forc'd education is pernicious to the public, the welfare whereof as it demands of us a regard superior to all other laws and considerations, so it shall be the only apology I intend to make for differing from the present sentiments of the learned and reverend body of our divines, and venturing plainly to deny, what I have just now owned to be openly asserted by most of our bishops, as well as inferior clergy. As our church pretends to no infallibility even in spirituals, her proper province, so it cannot be an affront to her to imagine that she may err in temporals, which are not so much under her immediate care.—But to my task.

The whole earth being cursed, and no bread to be had but what we eat in the sweat of our brows, vast toil must be undergone before man can provide himself with necessaries for his sustenance and the bare support of his corrupt and defective nature as he is a single creature; but infinitely more to make life comfortable in a civil society, where men are become taught animals, and great numbers of them have by mutual compact framed themselves into

into a body politic; and the more man's knowledge increases in this state, the greater will be the variety of labour required to make him easy. It is impossible that a society can long subsist, and suffer many of its members to live in idleness, and enjoy all the ease and pleasure they can invent, without having at the same time great multitudes of people that, to make good this defect, will condescend to be quite the reverse, and by use and patience inure their bodies to work for others and themselves besides.

The plenty and cheapness of provisions depends, in a great measure, on the price and value that is set upon this labour; and consequently the welfare of all societies, even before they are tainted with foreign luxury, requires that it should be performed by such of their members as in the first place are sturdy and robust, and never used to ease or idleness, and, in the second, soon contented as to the necessaries of life; such as are glad to take up with the coarsest manufacture in every thing they wear, and in their diet have no other aim than to feed their bodies when their stomachs prompt them to eat, and, with little regard to taste or relish, refuse no wholesome nourishment that can be swallowed when men are hungry, or ask any thing for their thirst but to quench it.

As the greatest part of the drudgery is to be done by day-light, so it is by this only that they actually measure the time of their labour, without any thought of the hours they are employed, or the weariness they feel; and the hireling in the country must get up in the morning, not because he has rested enough, but because the sun is going to rise. This last article alone would be an intolerable hardship to grown people under thirty,

who, during nonage had been used to lye a-bed as long as they could sleep; but all three together make up such a condition of life as a man more mildly educated would hardly chuse; tho' it should deliver him from a goal or a shrew.

If such people there must be, as no great nation can be happy without vast numbers of them, would not a wise legislature cultivate the breed of them with all imaginable care, and provide against their scarcity as he would prevent the scarcity of provision itself? No man would be poor and fatigue himself for a livelihood, if he could help it: the absolute necessity all stand in for victuals and drink, and in cold climates for clothes and lodging, makes them submit to any thing that can be bore with. If no body did want, no body would work; but the greatest hardships are looked upon as solid pleasures, when they keep a man from starving.

From what has been said it is manifest, that in a free nation where slaves are not allowed of, the surest wealth consists in a multitude of laborious poor; for besides that they are the never-failing nursery of fleets and armies, without them there could be no enjoyment, and no product of any country could be valuable. To make the society happy and people easy under the meanest circumstances, it is requisite, that great numbers of them should be ignorant as well as poor. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our desires, and the fewer things a man wishes for, the more easily his necessities may be supplied.

The welfare and felicity therefore of every state and kingdom require that the knowledge of the working poor should be confined within the verge of their occupations, and never extended (as to things visible) beyond what relates to their calling.

calling. The more a shepherd, a plowman, or any other peasant, knows of the world, and the things that are foreign to his labour or employment, the less fit he'll be to go through the fatigues and hardships of it with chearfulness and content.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic, are very necessary to those whose business require such qualifications; but where people's livelihood has no dependence on these arts, they are very pernicious to the poor, who are forc'd to get their daily bread by their daily labour. Few children make any progress at school, but at the same time they are capable of being employ'd in some business or other, so that every hour those sort of poor people spend at their book is so much time lost to the society. Going to school, in comparison to working, is idleness; and the longer boys continue in this easy sort of life, the more unfit they'll be, when grown up, for downright labour, both as to strength and inclination. Men, who are to remain and end their days in a laborious, tiresome and painful station of life, the sooner they are put upon it at first, the more patiently they'll submit to it for ever after. Hard labour, and the coarsest diet are a proper punishment to several kinds of malefactors; but to impose either on those that have not been used and brought up to both is the greatest cruelty, when there is no crime you can charge them with.

Reading and writing are not attained to without some labour of the brain and assiduity; and before people are tolerably versed in either, they esteem themselves infinitely above those who are wholly ignorant of them, often with so little justice and moderation, as if they were of

another species. As all mortals have naturally an aversion to trouble and pains-taking, so we are all fond of, and apt to over-value those qualifications we have purchased at the expence of our ease and quiet for years together. Those who spent a great part of their youth, in learning to read, write, and cypher, expect, and not unjustly, to be employ'd where those qualifications may be of use to them; the generality of them will look upon downright labour with the utmost contempt, I mean labour performed in the service of others in the lowest station of life, and for the meanest consideration. A man, who has had some education, may follow husbandry by choice, and be diligent at the dirtiest and most laborious work; but then the concern must be his own, and avarice, the care of a family, or some other pressing motive must put him upon it; but he won't make a good hireling, and serve a farmer for a pitiful reward; at least he is not so fit for it as a day-labourer that has always been employ'd about the plough and dung-cart, and remembers not that ever he has lived otherwise.

When obsequiousness and mean services are required, we shall always observe that they are never so chearfully nor so heartily perform'd as from inferiors to superiors; I mean inferiors not only in riches and quality, but likewise in knowledge and understanding. A servant can have no unfeigned respect for his master, as soon as he has sense enough to find out that he serves a fool. When we are to learn or to obey, we shall experience in ourselves, that the greater opinion we have of the wisdom and capacity of those that are either to teach or command us, the greater deference we pay to their laws and instructions.

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No creatures submit contentedly to their equals; and should a horse know as much as a man, I should not desire to be his rider.

Here I am obliged again to make a digression, tho' I declare I never had a less mind to it than I have at this minute; but I see a thousand rods in pisse, and the whole posse of diminutive pedants against me for assaulting the Christ-cross-row, and opposing the very elements of literature.

This is no panic fear, and the reader will not imagine my apprehensions ill grounded, if he considers what an army of petty tyrants I have to cope with, that all either actually persecute with birch, or else are solliciting for such a preferment. For, if I had no other adversaries than the starving wretches of both sexes throughout the kingdom of Great-Britain, that, from a natural antipathy to working, have a great dislike to their present employment, and perceiving within a much stronger inclination to command, than ever they felt to obey others, think themselves qualify'd, and wish from their hearts to be masters and mistresses of charity-schools, the number of my enemies would, by the most modest computation, amount to one hundred thousand at least.

Methinks I hear them cry out, that a more dangerous doctrine never was broach'd; and popery's a fool to it, and ask what brute of a Saracen it is that draws his ugly weapon for the destruction of learning. It is ten to one but they'll indict me for endeavouring, by instigation of the prince of darkness, to introduce into these realms greater ignorance and barbarity than ever nation was plunged into by Goths and Vandals, since the light of the gospel first appeared in the world.

Whoever labours under the public odium has always crimes laid to his charge he never was guilty of: and it will be suspected that I have had a hand in obliterating the holy scriptures, and perhaps affirmed that it was at my request that the small bibles published by patent in the year 1721, and chiefly made use of in charity-schools, were thro' badness of print and paper rendered illegible; which yet I protest I am as innocent of as the child unborn. But I am in a thousand fears; the more I consider my ease, the worse I like it: and the greatest comfort I have is in my sincere belief, that hardly any body will mind a word of what I say; or else, if ever the people suspected that what I write would be of any weight to any considerable part of the society, I should not have the courage barely to think on all the trades I should disoblige; and I cannot but smile when I reflect on the variety of uncouth sufferings that would be prepared for me, if the punishment they would differently inflict upon me was emblematically to point at my crime. For, if I was not suddenly stuck full of useless penknives up to the hilts, the company of stationers would certainly take me in hand, and either have me buried alive in their hall, under a great heap of primers and spelling-books they would not be able to sell, or else send me up against tide to be bruised to death in a paper-mill that would be obliged to stand still a week upon my account. The ink-makers at the same time would, for the public good, offer to choke me with astringents, or drown me in the black liquor that would be left upon their hands; which, if they join'd stock, might easily be perform'd in less than a month: and if I should escape the cruelty of these united bodies, the resentment

sentment of a private monopolist would be as fatal to me, and I should soon find myself pelted and knock't o' th' head with little squat bibles clasp'd in brass and ready arm'd for mischief, that, charitable learning ceasing, would be fit for nothing but unopen'd to fight with, and exercises truly polemic.

The digression I spoke of just now is not the foolish trifle that ended with the last paragraph, and which the grave critic, to whom all mirth is unseasonable, will think very impertinent; but a serious apologetical one I am going to make out of hand, to clear myself from having any design against arts and sciences, as some heads of colleges, and other careful preservers of human learning might have apprehended, upon seeing ignorance recommended as a necessary ingredient in the mixture of civil society.

In the first place, I would have near the double the number of professors in every university of what there is now. Theology with us is generally well provided, but the two other faculties have very little to boast of, especially physic. Every branch of that art ought to have two or three professors that would take pains to communicate their skill and knowledge to others. In public lectures a vain man has great opportunities to set off his parts, but private instructions are more useful to students. Pharmacy, and the knowledge of the simples, are as necessary as anatomy or the history of diseases: it is a shame that when men have taken their degree, and are by authority entrusted with the lives of the subject, they should be forced to come to London to be acquainted with the *materia medica*, and the composition of medicines, and receive instructions

from others that never had university education themselves; it is certain that in the city I named, there is ten times more opportunity for a man to improve himself in anatomy, botany, pharmacy, and the practice of physic, than at both universities together. What has an oylshop to do with silks; or who would look for hams and pickles at a mercer's? Where things are well managed, hospitals are made as subservient to the advancement of students in the art of physic, as they are to the recovery of health in the poor.

Good sense ought to govern men in learning as well as in trade: no man ever bound his son prentice to a goldsmith to make him a linen-draper; then why should he have a divine for his tutor to become a lawyer or a physician? It is true, that the languages, logic and philosophy should be the first studies in all the learned professions; but there is so little help for physic in our universities that are so rich, and where so many idle people are well paid for eating and drinking, and being magnificently, as well as commodiously lodged, that, bar books and what is common to all the three faculties, a man may as well qualify himself at Oxford or Cambridge to be a Turkey-merchant, as he can to be a physician: which is, in my humble opinion, a great sign that some part of the great wealth they are possessed of is not so well applied as it might be.

Professors should, besides their stipends allowed them by the public, have gratifications from every student they teach, that self-interest, as well as emulation and the love of glory, might spur them on to labour and assiduity. When a man excels in any one study or part of learning, and is qualified to teach others, he ought to be procured if money

will

will purchase him, without regarding what party, or indeed what country or nation he is of, whether black or white. Universities should be public marts for all manner of literature, as your annual fairs, that are kept at Leipsick, Francfort and other places in Germany, are for different wares and merchandises, where no difference is made between natives and foreigners, and which men resort to from all parts of the world with equal freedom and equal privilege.

From paying the gratifications I spoke of I would excuse all students designed for the ministry of the gospel. There is no faculty so immediately necessary to the government of a nation as that of Theology; and as we ought to have great numbers of divines for the service of this island, I would not have the meaner people discouraged from bringing up their children to that function. For though wealthy men, if they have many sons, sometimes make one of them a clergyman, as we see even persons of quality take up holy orders, and there are likewise people of good sense, especially divines, that, from a principle of prudence, bring up their children to that profession, when they are morally assured they have friends or interest enough, and shall be able, either by a good fellowship at the university, advowsons or other means, to procure them a livelihood: but these produce not the large number of divines that are yearly ordained, and for the bulk of the clergy we are indebted to another original.

Among the middling people of all trades there are bigots who have a superstitious awe for a gown and cassock: of these there are multitudes that feel an ardent desire of having a son promoted to the ministry of the gospel, without considering what

is to become of them afterwards; and many a kind mother in this kingdom, without consulting her own circumstances, or her child's capacity, transported with this laudable wish, is daily feasting on this pleasing thought, and often before her son is twelve years old, mixing maternal love with devotion, throws herself into ecstacies and tears of satisfaction, by reflecting on the future enjoyment she is to receive from seeing him stand in a pulpit, and with her own ears hearing him preach the word of God. It is to this religious zeal, or at least the human frailties that pass for and represent it, that we owe the great plenty of poor scholars the nation enjoys. For considering the inequality of livings, and the smallness of benefices up and down the kingdom, without this happy disposition in parents of small fortune, we could not possibly be furnished from any other quarter with proper persons for the ministry, to attend all the cures of souls, so pitifully provided for, that no mortal could live upon them, that had been educated in any tolerable plenty, unless he was possessed of real virtue, which is foolish and indeed injurious we should more expect from the clergy than we generally find it in the laity.

The great care I would take to promote that part of learning which is more immediately useful to society, should not make me neglect the more curious and polite; but all the liberal arts, and every branch of literature should be encouraged throughout the kingdom, more than they are, if my wishing could do it. In every county there should be one or more large schools erected at the public charge for Latin and Greek, that should be divided into six or more classes, with particular masters in each of them. The whole should be

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under the care and inspection of some men of letters in authority, who would not only be titular governors, but actually take pains, at least twice a year, in hearing every class thoroughly examined by the master of it, and not content themselves with judging of the progress the scholars had made from themes and other exercises that had been made out of their sight.

At the same time I would discharge and hinder the multiplicity of those petty schools that never would have had any existence, had the masters of them not been extremely indigent. It is a vulgar error that no body can spell or write English well without a little smatch of Latin. This is upheld by pedants for their own interest, and by none more strenuously maintained than such of them as are poor scholars in more than one sense. In the mean time it is an abominable falsehood: I have known and am still acquainted with several, and some of the fair sex, that never learned any Latin, and yet keep to strict orthography, and write admirable good sense; where on the other hand every body may meet with the scribblings of pretended scholars, at least such as went to a grammar-school for several years, that have grammar faults and are ill-spelt. The understanding of Latin thoroughly is highly necessary to all that are designed for any of the learned professions, and I would have no gentleman without literature; even those who are to be brought up attorneys, surgeons and apothecaries, should be much better vers'd in that language than generally they are; but to youth who afterwards are to get a livelihood in trades and callings, in which Latin is not daily wanted, it is of no use, and the learning of it an evident loss of just so much time and money as are bestowed upon

it. When men come into business, what was taught them of it in those petty schools is either soon forgot, or only fit to make them impertinent, and often very troublesome in company. Few men can forbear valuing themselves on any knowledge they had once acquired, even after they have lost it; and unless they are very modest and discreet, the undigested scraps which such people commonly remember of Latin, seldom fail of rendring them at one time or other ridiculous to those who understand it.

Reading and writing I would treat as we do music and dancing, I would not hinder them, nor force them upon the society: as long as there was any thing to be got by them, there would be masters enough to teach them; but nothing should be taught for nothing but at church: and here I would exclude even those who might be designed for the ministry of the gospel; for if parents are so miserably poor that they can't afford their children these first elements of learning, it is impudence in them to aspire any further.

It would encourage likewise the lower sort of people to give their children this part of education, if they could see them preferred to those of idle sots or sorry rake-hells, that never knew what it was to provide a rag for their brats but by begging. But now when a boy or a girl are wanted for any small service, we reckon it a duty to employ our charity children before any other. The education of them looks like a reward for being vicious and unactive, a benefit commonly bestowed on parents, who deserve to be punished for shamefully neglecting their families. In one place you may hear a rascal half drunk, damning himself, call for the other pot, and, as a good reason for it, add, that

that his boy is provided for in clothes, and has his schooling for nothing: in another you shall see a poor woman in great necessity, whose child is to be taken care of, because herself is a lazy slut, and never did any thing to remedy her wants in good earnest, but bewailing them at a jin-shop.

If every body's children are well taught, who by their own industry can educate them at our universities, there will be men of learning enough to supply this nation and such another; and reading, writing, or arithmetic, would never be wanting in the business that requires them, tho' none were to learn them but such whose parents could be at the charge of it. It is not with letters as it is with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, that they may not be purchased with money; and bought wit, if we believe the proverb, is none of the worst.

I thought it necessary to say thus much of learning, to obviate the clamours of the enemies to truth and fair dealing, who, had I not so amply explained myself on this head, would have represented me as a mortal foe to all literature and useful knowledge, and a wicked advocate for universal ignorance and stupidity. I shall now make good my promise of answering what I know the well-wishers to charity-schools would object against me, by saying that they brought up the children under their care to warrantable and laborious trades, and not to idleness as I did insinuate.

I have sufficiently shewed already, why going to school was idleness, if compared to working, and exploded this sort of education in the children of the poor, because it incapacitates them ever after for downright labour, which is their proper province, and in every civil society a portion they ought not to repine or grumble at, if exacted from them,

them with discretion and humanity. What remains is, that I should speak as to their putting them out to trades, which I shall endeavour to demonstrate to be destructive to the harmony of a nation, and an impertinent intermeddling with what few of these governors know any thing of.

In order to this let us examine into the nature of societies, and what the compound ought to consist of, if we would raise it to as high a degree of strength, beauty and perfection, as the ground we are to do it upon will let us. The variety of services that are required to supply the luxurious and wanton desires as well as real necessities of man, with all their subordinate callings, is in such a nation as ours prodigious; yet it is certain that, tho' the number of those several occupations be excessively great, it is far from being infinite: if you add one more than is required, it must be superfluous. If a man had a good stock and the best shop in Cheapside to sell turbants in, he would be ruined; and if Demetrius or any other silver-smith made nothing but Diana's shrines, he would not get his bread, now the worship of that goddess is out of fashion. As it is folly to set up trades that are not wanted, so what is next to it is, to encrease in any one trade the numbers beyond what are required. As things are managed with us, it would be preposterous to have as many brewers as there are bakers, or as many woollen-drapers as there are shoemakers. This proportion as to numbers in every trade finds itself, and is never better kept, than when no body meddles or interferes with it.

People that have children to educate that must get their livelihood, are always consulting and deliberating what trade or calling they are to bring

bring them up to, 'till they are fixed; and thousands think on this that hardly think at all on any thing else. First they confine themselves to their circumstances, and he that can give but ten pounds with his son must not look out for a trade where they ask an hundred with an apprentice: but the next they think on is always which will be the most advantageous; if there be a calling where at that time people are more generally employed than they are in any other in the same reach, there are presently half a score fathers ready to supply it with their sons. Therefore the greatest care most companies have is about the regulation of the number of prentices. Now when all trades complain, and perhaps justly, that they are overstocked, you manifestly injure that trade, to which you add one member more than would flow from the nature of society. Besides, that the governors of charity-schools don't deliberate so much what trade is the best, but what tradesmen they can get that will take the boys with such a sum; and few men of substance and experience will have any thing to do with these children; they are afraid of an hundred inconveniencies from the necessitous parents of them: so that they are bound, at least most commonly, either to sots and neglectful masters, or else such as are very needy and don't care what become of their prentices, after they have received the money: by which it seems as if we studied nothing more than to have a perpetual nursery for charity-schools.

When all trades and handicrafts are over-stock'd, it is a certain sign there is a fault in the management of the whole; for it is impossible there should be too many people, if the country is able to feed them. Are provisions dear? whose fault is that,

as long as you have ground untill'd and hands unemploy'd? But I shall be answered, that to increase plenty, must at long run undo the farmer, or lessen the rents all over England. To which I reply, that what the husbandman complains of most is what I would redress: the greatest grievance of farmers, gardeners and others, where hard labour is required, and dirty work to be done, is, that they cannot get servants for the same wages they used to have them at. The day-labourer grumbles at sixteen pence to do no other drudgery than what thirty years ago his grandfather did chearfully for half the money. As to the rents, it is impossible they should fall whilst you increase your numbers, but the price of provisions and all labour in general must fall with them if not before; and a man of a hundred and fifty pounds a year has no reason to complain that his income is reduced to one hundred, if he can buy as much for that one hundred as before he could have done for two.

There is no intrinsic worth in money but what is alterable with the times; and whether a guinea goes for twenty pounds or for a shilling, it is (as I have already hinted before) the labour of the poor, and not the high and low value that is set on gold or silver, which all the comforts of life must arise from. It is in our power to have a much greater plenty than we enjoy, if agriculture and fishery were taken care of, as they might be; but we are so little capable of increasing our labour, that we have hardly poor enough to do what is necessary to make us subsist. The proportion of the ociety is spoiled, and the bulk of the nation, which should every where consist of labouring poor, that are unacquainted with every thing but their work,

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is too little for the other parts. In all business where downright labour is shun'd or over-paid, there is plenty of people. To one merchant you have ten book-keepers, or at least pretenders; and everywhere in the country the farmer wants hands. Ask for a footman that for some time has been in gentlemen's families, and you'll get a dozen that are all butlers. You may have chamber-maids by the score, but you cannot get a cook under extravagant wages.

No body will do the dirty slavish work, that can help it. I don't discommend them; but all these things shew that the people of the meanest rank know too much to be serviceable to us. Servants require more than masters and mistresses can afford; and what madness is it to encourage them in this, by industriously increasing at our cost that knowledge which they will be sure to make us pay for over again! and it is not only that those who are educated at our own expence encroach upon us, but the raw ignorant country wenches and boobily fellows that can do, and are good for, nothing, impose upon us likewise. The scarcity of servants occasioned by the education of the first, gives a handle to the latter of advancing their price, and demanding what ought only to be given to servants that understand their business, and have most of the good qualities than can be required in them.

There is no place in the world where there are more clever fellows to look at, or to do an errand than some of our footmen; but what are they good for in the main? the greatest part of them are rogues and not to be trusted; and if they are honest, half of them are sots, and will get drunk three or four times a week. The surly ones are generally quarrelsome

quarrelsome, and, valuing their manhood beyond all other considerations, care not what clothes they spoil, or what disappointments they may occasion, when their prowess is in question. Those who are good-natured, are generally sad whore-masters that are ever running after the wenches, and spoil all the maid-servants they come near. Many of them are guilty of all these vices, whoring, drinking, quarrelling, and yet shall have all their faults overlooked and bore with, because they are men of good mien and humble address, that know how to wait on gentlemen; which is an unpardonable folly in masters, and generally ends in the ruin of servants.

Some few there are that are not addicted to any of these failings, and understand their duty besides; but as these are rarities, so there is not one in fifty but what over-rates himself; his wages must be extravagant, and you can never have done giving him; every thing in the house is his perquisite, and he won't stay with you unless his vails are sufficient to maintain a midling family; and tho' you had taken him from the dunghill, out of an hospital, or a prison, you shall never keep him longer than he can make of his place what in his high estimation of himself he shall think he deserves; nay, the best and most civilized, that never were saucy and impertinent, will leave the most indulgent master, and, to get handsomely away, frame fifty excuses, and tell downright lies, as soon as they can mend themselves. A man, who keeps an half-crown or twelve-penny ordinary, looks not more for money from his customers than a footman does from every guest that dines or sups with his master; and I question whether the one does not often think a shilling or half a crown, according

ding to the quality of the person, his due as much as the other.

A housekeeper who cannot afford to make many entertainments, and does not often invite people to his table, can have no creditable man-servant, and is forced to take up with some country booby or other awkward fellow, who will likewise give him the slip as soon as he imagines himself fit for any other service, and is made wiser by his rascally companions. All noted eating-houses and places that many gentlemen resort to for diversion or business, more especially the precincts of Westminster-hall, are the great schools for servants, where the dullest fellows may have their understandings improved; and get rid at once of their stupidity and their innocence. They are the academies for footmen, where public lectures are daily read on all sciences of low debauchery by the experienced professors of them, and students are instructed in above seven hundred illiberal arts, how to cheat, impose upon, and find out the blind side of their masters, with so much application, that in few years they become graduates in iniquity. Young gentlemen and others that are not thoroughly versed in the world, when they get such knowing sharpers in their service, are commonly indulging above measure; and for fear of discovering their want of experience hardly dare to contradict or deny them any thing, which is often the reason that, by allowing them unreasonable privileges, they expose their ignorance when they are most endeavouring to conceal it.

Some perhaps will lay the things I complain of to the charge of luxury, of which I said that it could do no hurt to a rich nation, if the imports never did exceed the exports; but I don't think this

this imputation just, and nothing ought to be scored on the account of luxury, that is downright the effect of folly. A man may be very extravagant in indulging his ease and his pleasure, and render the enjoyment of the world as operose and expensive as they can be made, if he can afford it, and at the same time shew his good sense in every thing about him: this he cannot be said to do, if he industriously renders his people incapable of doing him that service he expects from them. 'Tis too much money, excessive wages, and unreasonable vails that spoil servants in England. A man may have five and twenty horses in his stables without being guilty of folly, if it suits with the rest of his circumstances; but if he keeps but one, and overfeeds it to shew his wealth, he is a fool for his pains. Is it not madness to suffer that servants should take three and others five *per cent.* of what they pay to tradesmen for their masters, as is so well known to watchmakers and others that sell toys, superfluous nicknacks, and other curiosities, if they deal with people of quality and fashionable gentlemen that are above telling their own money? If they should accept of a present when offered, it might be connived at; but it is an unpardonable impudence that they should claim it as their due, and contend for it if refused. Those who have all the necessaries of life provided for, can have no occasion for money but what does them hurt as servants, unless they were to hoard it up for age or sickness, which among our Skip-kennels is not very common, and even then it makes them saucy and insupportable.

I am credibly informed that a parcel of footmen are arrived to that height of insolence, as to have entered into a society together, and made laws

laws by which they oblige themselves not to serve for less than such a sum, nor carry burdens, or any bundle or parcel above a certain weight, not exceeding two or three pounds, with other regulations directly opposite to the interest of those they serve, and altogether destructive to the use they were designed for. If any of them be turned away for strictly adhering to the orders of this honourable corporation, he is taken care of till another service is provided for him, and there is no money wanting at any time to commence and maintain a law-suit against any master that shall pretend to strike, or offer any other injury to his gentleman footman, contrary to the statutes of their society. If this be true, as I have reason to believe it is, and they are suffered to go on in consulting and providing for their own ease and conveniency any further, we may expect quickly to see the French comedy *Le maitre le valet* acted in good earnest in most families, which, if not redressed in a little time, and those footmen increase their company to the number it is possible they may, as well as assemble when they please with impunity, it will be in their power to make a tragedy of it whenever they have a mind to't.

But suppose those apprehensions frivolous and groundless, it is undeniable that servants in general are daily encroaching upon masters and mistresses, and endeavouring to be more upon the level with them. They not only seem sollicitous to abolish the low dignity of their condition, but have already considerably rais'd it in the common estimation from the original meanness which the public welfare requires they should always remain in. I don't say that these things are altogether owing to charity-schools, there are other evils they

they may be partly ascribed to: London is too big for the country, and in several respects we are wanting to ourselves. But if a thousand faults were to concur before the inconveniencies could be produced we labour under, can any man doubt who will consider what I have said, that charity-schools are accessory, or at least that they are more likely to create and increase, than to lessen or redress those complaints?

The only thing of weight then that can be said in their behalf is, that so many thousand children are educated by them in the Christian faith, and the principles of the church of England. To demonstrate that this is not a sufficient plea for them, I must desire the reader, as I hate repetitions, to look back on what I have said before, to which I shall add, that whatever is necessary to salvation, and requisite for poor labouring people to know concerning religion, that children learn at school, may fully as well, either by preaching or catechizing, be taught at church, from which, or some other place of worship, I would not have the meanest of a parish, that is able to walk to it, be absent on Sundays. It is the Sabbath, the most useful day in seven, that is set apart for divine service and religious exercise, as well as resting from bodily labour; and, it is a duty incumbent on all magistrates to take particular care of that day. The poor more especially, and their children, should be made to go to church on it both in the fore and afternoon, because they have no time on any other. By precept and example they ought to be encouraged and used to it from their very infancy; the wilful neglect of it ought to be counted scandalous; and if downright compulsion to what I urge might seem

seem too harsh, and perhaps impracticable, all diversions at least ought strictly to be prohibited, and the poor hindred from every amusement abroad that might allure or draw them from it.

Where this care is taken by the magistrates as far as it lyes in their power, ministers of the gospel may instil into the smallest capacities, more piety and devotion, and better principles of virtue and religion than charity-schools ever did, or ever will produce; and those who complain when they have such opportunities, that they cannot imbue their parishioners with sufficient knowledge of what they stand in need of as Christians, without the assistance of reading and writing, are either very lazy, or very ignorant and undeserving themselves.

That the most knowing are not the most religious, will be evident if we make a trial between people of different abilities even in this juncture, where going to church is not made such an obligation on the poor and illiterate, as it might be. Let us pitch upon a hundred poor men, the first we can light on, that are above forty, and were brought up to hard labour from their infancy, such as never went to school at all, and always lived remote from knowledge and great towns: let us compare to these an equal number of very good scholars, that shall all have had university education; and be, if you will, half of them divines, well versed in philology and polemic learning; then let us impartially examine into the lives and conversations of both, and I dare engage that among the first, who can neither read nor write, we shall meet with more union and neighbourly love, less wickedness and attachment to the world, more content of mind, more innocence, sincerity,

ty, and other good qualities that conduce to the public peace and real felicity, than we ſhall find among the latter, where on the contrary we may be aſſured of the height of pride and inſolence, eternal quarrels and diſſentions, irreconcileable hatreds, ſtrife, envy, calumny, and other vices deſtructive to mutual concord, which the illiterate labouring poor are hardly ever tainted with to any conſiderable degree.

I am very well perſwaded, that what I have ſaid in the laſt paragraph will be no news to moſt of my readers; but if it be truth, why ſhould it be ſtifled, and why muſt our concern for religion be eternally made a cloke to hide our real driſts and worldly intentions? Would both parties agree to pull off the maſk, we ſhould ſoon diſcover that whatever they pretend to, they aim at nothing ſo much in charity-ſchools as to ſtrengthen their party, and that the great ſticklers for the church, by educating children in the principles of religion, mean, inſpiring them with a ſuperlative veneration for the clergy of the church of England, and a ſtrong averſion and immortal animoſity againſt all that diſſent from it. To be aſſured of this, we are but to mind, on the one hand, what divines are moſt admired for their charity ſermons, and moſt fond to preach them; and, on the other, whether of late years we have had any riots or party ſcuffles among the mob, in which the youth of a famous hoſpital in this city were not always the moſt forward ring-leaders.

The grand aſſerters of liberty, who are ever guarding themſelves, and ſkirmiſhing againſt arbitrary power, often when they are in no danger of it, are, generally ſpeaking, not very ſuperſtitious, nor ſeem to lay great ſtreſs on any modern

dern apostleship: yet some of these likewise speak up loudly for charity-schools, but what they expect from them has no relation to religion or morality; they only look upon them as the proper means to destroy and disappoint the power of the priests over the laity. Reading and writing increase knowledge; and the more men know, the better they can judge for themselves: and they imagine, that if knowledge could be rendered universal, people could not be priest-rid, which is the thing they fear the most.

The first, I confess, is very probable will get their aim. But sure wise men that are not red-hot for a party, or bigots to the priests, will not think it worth while to suffer so many inconveniencies, as charity-schools may be the occasion of, only to promote the ambition and power of the clergy. To the other I would answer, that if all those who are educated at the charge of their parents or relations, will but think for themselves, and refuse to have their reason imposed upon by the priests, we need not be concerned for what the clergy will work upon the ignorant that have no education at all. Let them make the most of them: considering the schools we have for those who can and do pay for learning, it is ridiculous to imagine that the abolishing of charity-schools would be a step towards any ignorance that could be prejudicial to the nation.

I would not be thought cruel, and am well assured if I know any thing of myself, that I abhor inhumanity; but to be compassionate to excess where reason forbids it, and the general interest of the society requires steadiness of thought and resolution, is an unpardonable weakness. I know it will be ever urged against me, that it is barba-

rous the children of the poor should have no opportunity of exerting themselves, as long as God has not debarred them from natural parts and genius more than the rich. But I cannot think this is harder, than it is that they should not have money, as long as they have the same inclinations to spend as others. That great and useful men have sprung from hospitals, I don't deny; but it is likewise very probable, that when they were first employ'd, many as capable as themselves, not brought up in hospitals, were neglected, that with the same good fortune would have done as well as they, if they had been made use of instead of them.

There are many examples of women that have excelled in learning, and even in war; but this is no reason we should bring them all up to Latin and Greek, or else military discipline, instead of needlework and housewifry. But there is no scarcity of sprightliness or natural parts among us, and no soil or climate has human creatures to boast of better formed either inside or outside than this island generally produces. But it is not wit, genius or docility we want, but diligence, application and assiduity.

Abundance of hard and dirty labour is to be done, and coarse living is to be complied with: where shall we find a better nursery for these necessities than the children of the poor? none certainly are nearer to it, or fitter for it. Besides that, the things I called hardships, neither seem nor are such to those that have been brought up to them, and know no better. There is not a more contented people among us, than those who work the hardest, and are the least acquainted with the pomp and delicacies of the world.

These

These are truths that are undeniable; yet I know few people will be pleased to have them divulged; what makes them odious is an unreasonable vein of petty reverence for the poor, that runs through most multitudes, and more particularly in this nation, and arises from a mixture of pity, folly and superstition. It is from a lively sense of this compound that men cannot endure to hear or see any thing said or acted against the poor; without considering, how just the one, or insolent the other. So a beggar must not be beat tho' he strikes you first. Journeymen taylors go to law with their masters, and are obstinate in a wrong cause, yet they must be pitied; and murmuring weavers must be relieved, and have fifty silly things done to humour them, tho' in the midst of their poverty they insult their betters, and on all occasions appear to be more prone to make holy-days and riots than they are to working or sobriety.

This puts me in mind of our wool, which considering the posture of our affairs, and the behaviour of the poor, I sincerely believe ought not, upon any account, to be carried abroad: but if we look into the reason, why suffering it to be fetched away is so pernicious, our heavy complaint and lamentations that it is exported can be no great credit to us. Considering the mighty and manifold hazards that must be run before it can be got off the coast, and safely landed beyond sea; it is manifest that the foreigners, before they can work our wool, must pay more for it very considerably, than what we can have it for at home. Yet, notwithstanding this great difference in the prime cost, they can afford to sell the manufactures made of it cheaper at foreign markets than ourselves. This is the disaster we groan under, the intolerable

mischief, without which the exportation of that commodity could be no greater prejudice to us than that of tin or lead, as long as our hands were fully employed, and we had still wool to spare.

There is no people yet come to higher perfection in the woollen manufacture, either as to dispatch or goodness of work, at least in the most considerable branches, than ourselves, and therefore what we complain of can only depend on the difference in the management of the poor, between other nations and ours. If the labouring people in one country will work twelve hours in a day, and six days in a week, and in another they are employed but eight hours in a day, and not above four days in a week, the one is obliged to have nine hands for what the other does with four. But if moreover the living, the food and raiment, and what is consumed by the workmen of the industrious costs but half the money of what is expended among an equal number of the other, the consequence must be that the first will have the work of eighteen men for the same price as the other gives for the work of four. I would not insinuate, neither do I think, that the difference either in diligence or necessaries of life between us and any neighbouring nation is near so great as what I speak of; yet I would have it considered, that half of that difference and much less is sufficient to over-balance the disadvantage they labour under as to the price of wool.

Nothing to me is more evident than that no nation in any manufactory whatever can undersell their neighbours with whom they are at best but equals as to skill and dispatch, and the conveniency for working, more especially when the prime cost

cost of the thing to be manufactured is not in their favour, unless they have provisions, and whatever is relating to their sustenance cheaper, or else workmen that are either more assiduous, and will remain longer at their work, or be content with a meaner and coarser way of living than those of their neighbours. This is certain, that where numbers are equal, the more laborious people are, and the fewer hands the same quantity of work is performed by, the greater plenty there is in a country of the necessaries for life, the more considerable and the cheaper that country may render its exports.

It being granted then, that abundance of work is to be done, the next thing which I think to be likewise undeniable is, that the more chearfully it is done, the better, as well for those that perform it, as for the rest of the society. To be happy is to be pleased: and the less notion a man has of a better way of living, the more content he'll be with his own; and on the other hand, the greater a man's knowledge and experience is in the world, the more exquisite the delicacy of his taste, and the more consummate judge he is of things in general, certainly the more difficult it will be to please him. I would not advance any thing that is barbarous or inhuman: but when a man enjoys himself, laughs and sings, and in his gesture and behaviour shews me all the tokens of content and satisfaction, I pronounce him happy, and have nothing to do with his wit or capacity. I never enter into the reasonableness of his mirth, at least I ought not to judge of it by my own standard, and argue from the effect which the thing that makes him merry would have upon me. At that rate a man that hates cheese must call me fool

for loving blue mold. *De gustibus non est disputandum* is as true in a metaphorical as it is in the literal sense; and the greater the distance is between people as to their condition, their circumstances and manner of living, the less capable they are of judging of one another's troubles and pleasures.

Had the meanest and most uncivilized peasant leave *incognito* to observe the greatest king for a fortnight; tho' he might pick out several things he would like for himself, yet he would find a great many more, which, if the monarch and he were to change conditions, he would wish for his part to have immediately altered or redressed, and which with amazement he sees the king submit to. And again, if the sovereign was to examine the peasant in the same manner, his labour would be insufferable, the dirt and squalor, his diet and amours, his pastimes and recreations, would be all abominable; but then what charms would he find in the other's peace of mind, the calmness and tranquillity of his soul? no necessity for dissimulation with any of his family, or feigned affection to his mortal enemies; no wife in a foreign interest, no danger to apprehend from his children; no plots to unravel, no poison to fear; no popular statesman at home, or cunning courts abroad, to manage; no seeming patriots to bribe; no unsatiable favourite to gratify; no selfish ministry to obey; no divided nation to please, or fickle mob to humour, that would direct and interfere with his pleasures.

Was impartial reason to be judge between real good and real evil, and a catalogue made accordingly of the several delights and vexations differently to be met with in both stations, I question whether

whether the condition of kings would be at all preferable to that of peasants, even as ignorant and laborious as I seem to require the latter to be. The reason why the generality of people would rather be kings than peasants is first owing to pride and ambition, that is deeply rivetted in human nature, and which to gratify we daily see men undergo and despise the greatest hazards and difficulties. Secondly, to the difference there is in the force with which our affection is wrought upon, as the objects are either material or spiritual. Things that immediately strike our outward senses act more violently upon our passions than what is the result of thought and the dictates of the most demonstrative reason, and there is a much stronger bias to gain our liking or aversion in the first than there is in the latter.

Having thus demonstrated that what I urge could be no injury, or the least diminution of happiness to the poor, I leave it to the judicious reader, whether it is not more probable we should increase our exports by the methods I hint at, than by sitting still and damning and sinking our neighbours for beating us at our own weapons; some of them out-selling us in manufactures made of our own product which they dearly purchased, others growing rich in spite of distance and trouble, by the same fish which we neglect, tho' it is ready to jump into our mouths.

As by discouraging idleness with art and steadiness you may compel the poor to labour without force, so by bringing them up in ignorance you may inure them to real hardships without being ever sensible themselves that they are such. By bringing them up in ignorance, I mean no more, as I have hinted long ago, than that as to worldly

affairs their knowledge should be confined within the verge of their own occupations, at least that we should not take pains to extend it beyond those limits. When by these two engines we shall have made provisions, and consequently labour cheap, we must infallibly out-sell our neighbours; and at the same time increase our numbers. This is the noble and manly way of encountring the rivals of our trade, and by dint of merit out-doing them at foreign markets.

To allure the poor we make use of policy in some cases with success. Why should we be neglectful of it in the most important point, when they make their boast that they will not live as the poor of other nations? If we cannot alter their resolution, why should we applaud the justness of their sentiments against the common interest? I have often wondered formerly how an Englishman, that pretended to have the honour and glory, as well as the welfare, of his country at heart, could take delight in the evening to hear an idle tenant that owed him above a year's rent, ridicule the French for wearing wooden shoes, when in the morning he had had the mortification of hearing the great king William, that ambitious monarch as well as able statesman, openly own to the world, and, with grief and anger in his looks, complain of the exorbitant power of France. Yet I don't recommend wooden shoes, nor do the maxims I would introduce require arbitrary power in one person. Liberty and property, I hope, may remain secured, and yet the poor be better employed than they are, tho' their children should wear out their clothes by useful labour, and blacken them with country dirt for something, instead of tearing them

of

off their backs at play, and dawbing 'em with ink for nothing.

There is above three or four hundred years work, for a hundred thousand poor more than we have in this island. To make every part of it useful, and the whole thoroughly inhabited, many rivers are to be made navigable, canals to be cut in hundreds of places: some lands are to be drained and secured from inundations for the future: abundance of barren soil is to be made fertile, and thousands of acres rendred more beneficial by being made more accessible. *Dii laboribus omnia vendunt.* There is no difficulty of this nature, that labour and patience cannot surmount. The highest mountains may be thrown into their valleys that stand ready to receive them, and bridges might be laid where now we would not dare to think of it. Let us look back on the stupendous works of the Romans, more especially their high ways and aqueducts: let us consider in one view the vast extent of several of their roads, how substantial they made them, and what duration they have been of; and in another, a poor traveller that at every ten mile's end is stop'd by a turnpike, and dunn'd for a penny for mending the roads in the summer, with what every body knows will be dirt before the winter that succeeds is expired.

The conveniency of the public ought ever to be the public care, and no private interest of a town or a whole county should ever hinder the execution of a project or contrivance that would manifestly tend to the improvement of the whole; and every member of the legislature, who knows his duty, and would chuse rather to act like a wise man, than curry favour with his neighbours, will

prefer the least benefit accruing to the whole kingdom to the most visible advantage of the place he serves for.

We have materials of our own, and want neither stone nor timber to do any thing: and was the money that people give uncompell'd to beggars, who don't deserve it, and what every housekeeper is obliged to pay to the poor of his parish that is otherwise employed or ill-applied, to be put together every year, it would make a sufficient fund to keep a great many thousands at work. I don't say this, because I think it practicable, but only to shew that we have money enough to spare to employ vast multitudes of labourers; neither should we want so much for it as we perhaps might imagine. When it is taken for granted that a soldier, whose strength and vigour is to be kept up at least as much as any body's, can leave upon six pence a day, I can't conceive the necessity of giving the greatest part of the year sixteen and eighteen pence to a day-labourer.

The fearful and cautious people, that are ever jealous of their liberty, I know will cry out, That where the multitudes I speak of should be kept in constant pay, property and privileges would be precarious. But they might be answered, that sure means might be found out, and such regulations made, as to the hands in which to trust the management and direction of these labourers, that it would be impossible for the prince, or any body else, to make an ill use of their numbers.

What I have said in the four or five last paragraphs, I foresee, will, with abundance of scorn, be laugh'd at by many of my readers, and at best be call'd building castles in the air; but whether that is my fault or theirs is a question. When the public

public spirit has left a nation, they not only lose their patience with it, and all thoughts of perseverance, but become likewise so narrow soul'd, that it is a pain for them even to think of things that are of uncommon extent, or require great length of time; and whatever is noble and sublime in such conjectures is counted chimerical. Where deep ignorance is entirely routed and expell'd, and low learning promiscuously scattered on all the people, self-love turns knowledge into cunning, and the more this last qualification prevails in any country the more the people will fix all their cares, concern and application on the time present, without regard of what is to come after them, or hardly ever thinking beyond the next generation.

But as cunning, according to my lord Verulam, is but left-handed wisdom, so a prudent legislature ought to provide against this disorder of the society as soon as the symptoms of it appear, among which the following are the most obvious. Imaginary rewards are generally despised: every body is for turning the penny and short bargains: he that is diffident of every thing, and believes nothing but what he sees with his own eyes, is counted the most prudent, and in all their dealings men seem to act from no other principle than that of "the devil take "the hindmost". Instead of planting oaks that will require a hundred and fifty years before they are fit to be cut down, they build houses with a design that they shall not stand above twelve or fourteen years. All heads run upon the uncertainty of things, and the vicissitudes of human affairs. The mathematics become the only valuable study, and are made use of in every thing, even where it is ridiculous; and men seem to repose

no greater trust in providence than they would in a broken merchant.

It is the business of the public to supply the defects of the society, and take that in hand first which is most neglected by private persons. Contraries are best cured by contraries; and therefore as example is of greater efficacy than precept in the amendment of national failings, the legislature ought to resolve upon some great undertakings that must be the work of ages as well as vast labour, and convince the world that they did nothing without an anxious regard to their latest posterity. This will fix or at least help to settle the volatile genius and fickle spirit of the kingdom, put us in mind that we are not born for ourselves only, and be a means of rendring men less distrustful, and inspiring them with a true love for their country, and a tender affection for the ground itself, than which nothing is more necessary to aggrandize a nation. Forms of government may alter, religions, and even languages may change; but Great-Britain, or at least, if that likewise might lose its name, the island itself will remain, and, in all human probability, last as long as any part of the globe. All ages have ever paid their kind acknowledgments to their ancestors for the benefits derived from them; and a Christian who enjoys the multitude of fountains and vast plenty of water to be met with in the city of St Peter, is an ungrateful wretch if he never casts a thankful remembrance on old Pagan Rome, that took such prodigious pains to procure it.

When this island shall be cultivated and every inch of it made habitable and useful, and the whole the most convenient and agreeable spot upon earth, all the cost and labour laid out upon it will be glo-

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riously repaid by the incense of them that shall come after us: and those who burn with the noble zeal and desire after immortality, and took such care to improve their country, may rest satisfied, that a thousand and two thousand years hence they shall live in the memory and everlasting praises of the future ages that shall then enjoy it.

Here I should have concluded this rhapsody of thoughts: but something comes in my head concerning the main scope and design of this essay, which is to prove the necessity there is for a certain portion of ignorance in a well-ordered society: that I must not omit, because by mentioning it I shall make an argument on my side of what, if I had not spoke of it, might easily have appeared as a strong objection against me. It is the opinion of most people, and mine among the rest, that the most commendable quality of the present Czar of Muscovy is his unwearied application in raising his subjects from their native stupidity, and civilizing his nation: but then we must consider it is what they stood in need of, and that not long ago the greatest part of them were next to brute beasts. In proportion to the extent of his dominions and the multitudes he commands, he had not that number or variety of tradesmen and artificers which the true improvement of the country required, and therefore was in the right in leaving no stone unturned to procure them. But what is that to us who labour under a contrary disease? Sound politics are to the social body what the art of medicine is to the natural; and no physician would treat a man in a lethargy, as if he was sick for want of rest, or prescribe in a dropsy what would be administred in a diabetes. In short, Russia has too few knowing men, and Great Britain too many.

A

SEARCH

INTO THE

NATURE OF SOCIETY.

THE generality of moraliſts and philoſophers have hitherto agreed that there could be no virtue without ſelf-denial; but a late author, who is now much read by men of ſenſe, is of a contrary opinion, and imagines that men without any trouble or violence upon themſelves may be naturally virtuous. He ſeems to require and expect goodneſs in his ſpecies, as we do a ſweet taſte in grapes and China oranges, of which, if any of them are ſoure, we boldly pronounce that they are not come to that perfection their nature is capable of. This noble writer, (for it is the lord Shaftsbury I mean, in his characteriſtics) fancies, that as man is made for ſociety, ſo he ought to be born with a kind affection to the whole, of which he is a part, and a propenſity to ſeek the welfare of it. In purſuance of this ſuppoſition, he calls every action performed with regard to the public good, virtuous; and all ſelfiſhneſs, wholly excluding ſuch a regard, vice. In reſpect to our ſpecies he looks upon virtue and vice as permanent realities that muſt ever be the ſame in all countries and all ages, and imagines that a man of ſound underſtanding, by following

lowing the rules of good ſenſe, may not only find out that *pulchrum & honeſtum* both in morality and the works of art and nature, but likewiſe govern himſelf by his reaſon with as much eaſe and readineſs as a good rider manages a well-taught horſe by the bridle.

The attentive reader, who peruſed the foregoing part of this book, will ſoon perceive that two ſyſtems cannot be more oppoſite than his lordſhip's and mine. His notions I confeſs are generous and refined: they are a high compliment to human-kind, and capable by the help of a little enthuſiaſm of inſpiring us with the moſt noble ſentiments concerning the dignity of our exalted nature: what pity it is that they are not true! I would not advance thus much if I had not already demonſtrated in almoſt every page of this treatiſe, that the ſolidity of them is inconſiſtent with our daily experience. But to leave not the leaſt ſhadow of an objection that might be made unanſwered, I deſign to expatiate on ſome things which hitherto I have but ſlightly touched upon, in order to convince the reader, not only that the good and amiable qualities of man are not thoſe that make him beyond other animals a ſociable creature; but moreover that it would be utterly impoſſible, either to raiſe any multitudes into a populous, rich and flouriſhing nation, or when ſo rais'd, to keep and maintain them in that condition, without the aſſiſtance of what we call evil both natural and moral.

The better to perform what I have undertaken, I ſhall previouſly examine into the reality of the *pulchrum & honeſtum*, the το καλον that the antients have talked of ſo much. The meaning of this is to diſcuſs, whether there be a real worth and excellency in things, a pre-eminence of one above another;

another; which every body will always agree to that well understands them; or that there are few things, if any, that have the same esteem paid them, and which the same judgment is passed upon in all countries and all ages. When we first set out in quest of this intrinsic worth, and find one thing better than another, and a third better than that, and so on, we begin to entertain great hopes of success; but when we meet with several things that are all very good or all very bad, we are puzzled and agree not always with ourselves, much less with others. There are different faults as well as beauties that, as modes and fashions alter and men vary in their tastes and humours, will be differently admired or disapproved of.

Judges of painting will never disagree in opinion, when a fine picture is compared to the dawbing of a novice; but how strangely have they differed as to the works of eminent masters! There are parties among connoisseurs, and few of them agree in their esteem as to ages and countries: and the best pictures bear not always the best prices; a noted original will be ever worth more than any copy that can be made of it by an unknown hand, tho' it should be better. The value that is set on paintings depends not only on the name of the master, and the time of his age he drew them in, but likewise in a great measure on the scarcity of his works, but, what is still more unreasonable, the quality of the persons in whose possession they are, as well as the length of time they have been in great families; and if the Cartoons now at Hampton-court were done by a less famous hand than that of Raphael, and had a private person for their owner, who would be forced to sell them, they would never yield the tenth part

of

of the money which with all their grofs faults they are now eſteemed to be worth.

Notwithſtanding all this, I will readily own, that the judgment to be made of painting might become of univerſal certainty, or at leaſt leſs alterable and precarious than almoſt any thing elſe: the reaſon is plain; there is a ſtandard to go by, that always remains the ſame. Painting is an imitation of nature, a copying of things which men have every where before them. My good humoured reader I hope will forgive me, if thinking on this glorious invention, I make a reflexion a little out of ſeaſon, tho' very much conducive to my main deſign; which is, that valuable as the art is I ſpeak of, we are beholden to an imperfection in the chief of our ſenſes for all the pleaſures and raviſhing delight we receive from this happy deceit. I ſhall explain myſelf. Air and ſpace are no objects of ſight; but as ſoon as we can ſee with the leaſt attention, we obſerve that the bulk of the things we ſee is leſſened by degrees, as they are further remote from us, and nothing but experience gain'd from theſe obſervations can teach us to make any tolerable gueſſes at the diſtance of things. If one born blind ſhould remain ſo till twenty, and then be ſuddenly bleſſed with ſight, he would be ſtrangely puzzled as to the difference of diſtances, and hardly able immediately by his eyes alone to determine which was neareſt to him, a poſt almoſt within the reach of his ſtick, or a ſteeple that ſhould be half a mile off. Let us look as narrowly as we can upon a hole in a wall, that has nothing but the open air behind it, and we ſhall not be able to ſee otherwiſe, but that the ſky fills up the vacuity, and is as near us as the back part of the ſtones that circumſcribe the ſpace where they are wanting.

wanting. This circumstance, not to call it a defect in our sense of seeing, makes us liable to be imposed upon, and every thing, but motion, may by art be represented to us on a flat in the same manner as we see them in life and nature. If a man had never seen this art put into practice, a looking-glass might soon convince him that such a thing was possible; and I cannot help thinking but that the reflexions from very smooth and well-polished bodies made upon our eyes, must have given the first handle to the inventions of drawings and painting.

In the works of nature, worth and excellency are as uncertain: and even in human creatures what is beautiful in one country is not so in another. How whimsical is the florist in his choice! sometimes the tulip, sometimes the auricula, and at other times the carnation shall engross his esteem, and every year a new flower in his judgment beats all the old ones, tho' it is much inferior to them both in colour and shape. Three hundred years ago men were shaved as closely as they are now: since that they have wore beards, and cut them in vast variety of forms, that were all as becoming when fashionable as now they would be ridiculous. How mean and comically a man looks, that is otherwise well dressed, in a narrow-brim'd hat when every body wears broad ones; and again, how monstruous is a very great hat, when the other extreme has been in fashion for a considerable time? Experience has taught us, that these modes seldom last above ten or twelve years, and a man of threescore must have observed five or six revolutions of them at least; yet the beginnings of these changes, tho' we have seen several, seem always uncouth, and are offensive afresh whenever they return.

What

What mortal can decide which is the handſomeſt, abſtract from the mode in being, to wear great buttons or ſmall ones? The many ways of laying out a garden judiciouſly are almoſt innumerable, and what is called beautiful in them varies according to the different taſtes of nations and ages. In graſs plats, knots and parterres a great diverſity of forms is generally agreeable; but a round may be as pleaſing to the eye as a ſquare: an oval cannot be more ſuitable to one place than it is poſſible for a triangle to be to another; and the pre-eminence an octogon has over an hexagon is no greater in figures, than at hazard eight has above ſix among the chances.

Churches, ever ſince Chriſtians have been able to build them, reſemble the form of a croſs, with the upper end pointing toward the Eaſt; and an architect, where there is room, and it can be conveniently done, who ſhould neglect it, would be thought to have committed an unpardonable fault: but it would be fooliſh to expect this of a Turkiſh moſque or a Pagan temple. Among the many beneficial laws that have been made theſe hundred years, it is not eaſy to name one of greater utility, and at the ſame time more exempt from all inconveniencies, than that which has regulated the dreſſes of the dead. Thoſe who were old enough to take notice of things when that act was made, and are yet alive, muſt remember the general clamour that was made againſt it. At firſt nothing could be more ſhocking to thouſands of people than that they were to be buried in woollen; and the only thing that made that law ſupportable was, that there was room left for people of ſome faſhion to indulge their weakneſs without extravagancy; conſidering the other expences of funerals where mourning

ning is given to several, and rings to a great many. The benefit that accrues to the nation from it is so visible that nothing ever could be said in reason to condemn it, which in few years made the horror conceived against it lessen every day. I observed then that young people who had seen but few in their coffins did the soonest strike in with the innovation; but that those who, when the act was made, had buried many friends and relations remained averse to it the longest, and I remember many that never could be reconciled to it to their dying day. By this time burying in linen being almost forgot, it is the general opinion that nothing could be more decent than woollen, and the present manner of dressing a corps: which shews that our liking or disliking of things chiefly depends on mode and custom, and the precept and example of our betters, and such whom one way or other we think to be superior to us.

In morals there is no greater certainty. Plurality of wives is odious among Christians, and all the wit and learning of a great genius in defence of it has been rejected with contempt: but polygamy is not shocking to a Mahometan. What men have learned from their infancy enslaves them, and the force of custom warps nature, and at the same time imitates her in such a manner, that it is often difficult to know which of the two we are influenced by. In the East formerly sisters married brothers, and it was meritorious for a man to marry his mother. Such alliances are abominable; but it is certain that, whatever horror we conceive at the thoughts of them, there is nothing in nature repugnant against them, but what is built upon mode and custom. A religious Mahometan that has never tasted any spirituous liquor, and has often

often seen people drunk, may receive as great an aversion against wine, as another with us of the least morality and education may have against lying with his sister, and both imagine that their antipathy proceeds from nature. Which is the best religion? is a question that has caused more mischief than all other questions together. Ask it at Peking, at Constantinople, and at Rome, and you'll receive three distinct answers extremely different from one another, yet all of them equally positive and peremptory. Christians are well assured of the falsity of the Pagan and Mahometan superstitions: as to this point there is a perfect union and concord among them; but enquire of the several sects they are divided into, Which is the true church of Christ? and all of them will tell you it is theirs, and, to convince you, go together by the ears.

It is manifest then that the hunting after this *pulchrum & honestum* is not much better than a wild-goose chace that is but little to be depended upon: but this is not the greatest fault I find with it. The imaginary notions that men may be virtuous without self-denial are a vast inlet to hypocrisy, which being once made habitual, we must not only deceive others, but likewise become altogether unknown to ourselves; and in an instance I am going to give, it will appear how, for want of duly examining himself, this might happen to a person of quality of parts and erudition, one every way resembling the author of the characteristics himself.

A man that has been brought up in ease and affluence, he is of a quiet indolent nature, learns to shun every thing that is troublesome, and chuses to curb his passions, more because of the inconveniencies that arise from the eager pursuit after

pleasure,

pleasure, and the yielding to all the demands of our inclinations, than any dislike he has to sensual enjoyments; and it is possible, that a person educated under a great philosopher, who was a mild and good-natur'd as well as able tutor, may in such happy circumstances have a better opinion of his inward state than it really deserves, and believe himself virtuous, because his passions ly dormant. He may form fine notions of the social virtues, and the contempt of death, write well of them in his closet, and talk eloquently of them in company, but you shall never catch him fighting for his country, or labouring to retrieve any national losses. A man that deals in Metaphysics may easily throw himself into an enthusiasm, and really believe that he does not fear death whilst it remains out of sight. But should he be asked, why, having this intrepidity either from nature, or acquired by philosophy, he did not follow arms when his country was involved in war; or when he saw the nation daily robbed by those at the helm, and the affairs of the exchequer perplexed, why he did not go to court, and make use of all his friends and interest to be a lord treasurer, that by his integrity and wise management he might restore the public credit; it is probable he would answer that he lov'd retirement, had no other ambition than to be a good man, and never aspired to have any share in the government, or that he hated all flattery and slavish attendance, the insincerity of courts and bustle of the world. I am willing to believe him: but may not a man of an indolent temper and unactive spirit say, and be sincere in all this, and at the same time indulge his appetites without being able to subdue them, tho' his duty summons him to it. Virtue consists in action,

action; and whoever is poſſeſſed of this ſocial love and kind affection to his ſpecies, and by his birth or quality can claim any poſt in the public management, ought not to ſit ſtill when he can be ſerviceable, but exert himſelf to the utmoſt for the good of his fellow ſubjects. Had this noble perſon been of a warlike genius or a boiſterous temper, he would have choſe another part in the drama of life, and preached a quite contrary doctrine: for we are ever puſhing our reaſon which way ſoever we feel paſſion to draw it, and ſelf-love pleads to all human creatures for their different views, ſtill furniſhing every individual with arguments to juſtify their inclinations.

That boaſted middle way, and the calm virtues recommended in the characteriſtics, are good for nothing but to breed drones, and might qualify a man for the ſtupid enjoyments of a monaſtic life, or at beſt a country juſtice of peace, but they would never fit him for labour and aſſiduity, or ſtir him up to great atchievements and perilous undertakings. Man's natural love of eaſe and idleneſs, and proneneſs to indulge his ſenſual pleaſures, are not to be cured by precept: his ſtrong habits and inclinations can only be ſubdued by paſſions of greater violence. Preach and demonſtrate to a coward the unreaſonableneſs of his fears, and you will not make him valiant, more than you can make him taller by bidding him to be ten foot high; whereas the ſecret to raiſe courage, as I have made it public in remark (R) is almoſt infallible.

The fear of death is the ſtrongeſt when we are in our greateſt vigour and our appetite is keen; when we are ſharp-ſighted, quick of hearing, and every part performs its office. The reaſon is plain, becauſe

becauſe then life is moſt delicious and ourſelves moſt capable of enjoying it. How comes it then that a man of honour ſhould ſo eaſily accept of a challenge, tho' at thirty and in perfect health? it is his pride that conquers his fear; for when his pride is not concerned, this fear will appear moſt glaringly. If he is not uſed to the ſea let him but be in a ſtorm, or, if he never was ill before, have but a ſore throat or a ſlight fever, and he'll ſhew a thouſand anxieties, and in them the inéſtimable value he ſets on life. Had man been naturally humble, and proof againſt flattery, the politician could never have had his ends, or known what to have made of him. Without vices the excellency of the ſpecies would have ever remained undiſcovered; and every worthy that has made himſelf famous in the world is a ſtrong evidence againſt this amiable ſyſtem.

If the courage of the great Macedonian came up to diſtraction when he fought alone againſt a whole gariſon, his madneſs was not leſs when he fancied himſelf to be a god, or at leaſt doubted whether he was or not; and as ſoon as we make this reflexion, we diſcover both the paſſion, and the extravagancy of it, that buoy'd up his ſpirits in the moſt imminent dangers, and carried him through all the difficulties and fatigues he underwent.

There never was in the world a brighter example of an able and compleat magiſtrate than Cicero: when I think on his care and vigilance, the real hazards he ſlighted, and the pains he took for the ſafety of Rome; his wiſdom and ſagacity in detecting and diſappointing the ſtratagems of the boldeſt and moſt ſubtle conſpirators, and at the ſame time on his love to literature, arts and ſciences,

ences, his capacity in metaphysics, the justness of his reasonings, the force of his eloquence, the politeness of his style, and the genteel spirit that runs thro' his writings; when I think, I say, on all these things together, I am struck with amazement, and the least I can say of him is, that he was a prodigious man. But when I have set the many good qualities he had in the best light, it is as evident to me on the other side, that had his vanity been inferior to his greatest excellency, the good sense and knowledge of the world he was so eminently possessed of could never have let him be such a fulsome as well as noisy trumpeter, as he was, of his own praises, or suffered him, rather than not proclaim his own merit, to make a verse that a school-boy would have been laugh'd at for. *O! fortunatam*, &c.

How strict and severe was the morality of rigid Cato, how steady and unaffected the virtue of that grand asserter of Roman liberty! but though the equivalent this Stoic enjoyed, for all the self-denial and austerity he practised, remained long concealed, and his peculiar modesty hid from the world, and perhaps himself, a vast while the frailty of his heart that forced him into heroism, yet it was brought to light in the last scene of his life, and by his suicide it plainly appeared that he was governed by a tyrannical power superior to the love of his country, and that the implacable hatred and superlative envy he bore to the glory, the real greatness and personal merit of Cæsar, had for a long time swayed all his actions under the most noble pretences. Had not this violent motive overruled his consummate prudence, he might not only have saved himself, but likewise most of his friends that were ruined by the loss of him, and would in

all probability, if he could have ſtooped to it, been the ſecond man in Rome. But he knew the boundleſs mind and unlimited generoſity of the victor, it was his clemency he feared; and therefore choſe death becauſe it was leſs terrible to his pride than the thought of giving his mortal foe ſo tempting an opportunity of ſhewing the magnanimity of his ſoul, as Cæſar would have found in forgiving ſuch an inveterate enemy as Cato, and offering him his friendſhip; and which it is thought by the judicious, that penetrating as well as ambitious conqueror would not have ſlipt, if the other had dared to live.

Another argument to prove the kind diſpoſition and real affection we naturally have for our ſpecies, is our love of company, and the averſion men that are in their ſenſes generally have to ſolitude, beyond other creatures. This bears a fine gloſs in the characteriſtics, and is ſet off in very good language to the beſt advantage: the next day after I read it firſt, I heard abundance of people cry freſh herrings, which with the reflexion on the vaſt ſhoals of that and other fiſh that are caught together, made me very merry, tho' I was alone: but as I was entertaining myſelf with this contemplation, came an impertinent idle fellow, whom I had the misfortune to be known by, and aſked me how I did, tho' I was and dare ſay looked as healthy, and as well as ever I was or did in my life. What I anſwered him I forgot, but remember that I could not get rid of him in a good while, and felt all the uneaſineſs my friend Horace complains of from a perſecution of the like nature.

I would have no ſagacious critic pronounce me a man-hater from this ſhort ſtory; whoever does,

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is very much mistaken. I am a great lover of company; and if the reader is not quite tired with mine, before I shew the weakness and ridicule of that piece of flattery made to our species, and which I was just now speaking of, I will give him a description of the man I would chuse for conversation, with a promise that before he has finished what at first he might only take for a digression foreign to my purpose, he shall find the use of it.

By early and artful instruction he should be thoroughly imbued with the notions of honour and shame, and have contracted an habitual aversion to every thing that has the least tendency to impudence, rudeness or inhumanity. He should be well versed in the Latin tongue, and not ignorant of the Greek, and moreover understand one or two of the modern languages besides his own. He should not only be acquainted with the fashions and customs of the antients, but thoroughly skilled in the history of his own country, and the manners of the age he lives in. He should, besides literature, have studied some useful science or other, seen some foreign courts and universities, and made the true use of travelling. He should, at times, take delight in dancing, fencing, riding the great horse, and knowing something of hunting and other country sports, without being attached to any, and he should treat them all as either exercises for health, or diversions that should never interfere with business, or the attaining to more valuable qualifications. He should have a smatch of geometry and astronomy, as well as anatomy and the œconomy of human bodies. To understand music so as to perform, is an accomplishment, but there is abundance to be said against it, and instead of it I would have him know so much of drawing

as is required to take a landskip, or explain one's meaning of any form or model we should describe, but never to touch a pencil. He should be very early used to the company of modest women, and never be a fortnight without conversing with the ladies.

Gross vices, as irreligion, whoring, gaming, drinking and quarrelling, I won't mention; even the meanest education guards us against them; I would always recommend to him the practice of virtue; but I am for no voluntary ignorance, in a gentleman, of any thing that is done in court or city. It is impossible a man should be perfect, and therefore there are faults I would connive at, if I could not prevent them; and if between the years of nineteen and three and twenty, youthful heat should sometimes get the better of his chastity, so it was done with caution; should he, on some extraordinary occasion, overcome by the pressing solicitations of jovial friends, drink more than was consistent with strict sobriety, so he did it very seldom, and found it not to interfere with his health or temper; or if by the height of his metal and great provocation, in a just cause, he had been drawn into a quarrel, which true wisdom and a less strict adherence to the rules of honour might have declined or prevented, so it never befel him above once; if I say he should have happened to be guilty of these things, and he would never speak, much less brag of them himself, they might be pardoned, or at least over-looked at the age I named, if he left off then and continued discreet for ever after. The very disasters of youth have sometimes frightened gentlemen into a more steady prudence, than in all probability they would ever have been masters of without them. To

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keep him from turpitude and things that are openly scandalous, there is nothing better than to procure him free access in one or two noble families where his frequent attendance is counted a duty: and whilst by that means you preserve his pride, he is kept in a continual dread of shame.

A man of a tolerable fortune, pretty near accomplished as I have required him to be, that still improves himself, and sees the world till he is thirty, cannot be disagreeable to converse with, at least whilst he continues in health and prosperity, and has nothing to spoil his temper. When such a one either by chance or appointment, meets with three or four of his equals, and all agree to pass away a few hours together, the whole is what I call good company. There is nothing said in it that is not either instructive or diverting to a man of sense. It is possible they may not always be of the same opinion, but there can be no contest between any but who shall yield first to the other he differs from. One only speaks at a time, and no louder than to be plainly understood by him who sits the farthest off. The greatest pleasure aimed at by every one of them is to have the satisfaction of pleasing others, which they all practically know may as effectually be done by hearkning with attention and an approving countenance, as if we said very good things ourselves.

Most people of any taste would like such a conversation, and justly prefer it to being alone, when they knew not how to spend their time; but if they could employ themselves in something from which they expected either a more solid or a more lasting satisfaction, they would deny themselves this pleasure, and follow what was of greater conse-

quence to them. But would not a man, tho' he had seen no mortal in a fortnight, remain alone as much longer; rather than get into company of noisy fellows that take delight in contradiction, and place a glory in picking a quarrel? would not one that has books read for ever, or set himself to write upon some subject or other, rather than be every night with party-men, who count the island to be good for nothing whilst their adversaries are suffered to live upon it? Would not a man be by himself a month, and go to bed before seven a-clock, rather than mix with fox-hunters who, having all day long tried in vain to break their necks, join at night in a second attempt upon their lives by drinking, and, to express their mirth, are louder in senseless sounds within doors, than their barking and less troublesome companions are only without? I have no great value for a man who would not rather tire himself with walking, or, if he was shut up, scatter pins about the room in order to pick them up again, than keep company for six hours with half a score common sailors the day their ship was paid off.

I will grant nevertheless that the greatest part of mankind, rather than be alone any considerable time, would submit to the things I named: but I cannot see, why this love of company, this strong desire after society, should be construed so much in our favour, and alledged as a mark of some intrinsic worth in man not to be found in other animals. For to prove from it the goodness of our nature and a generous love in man, extended beyond himself on the rest of his species, by vertue of which he was a sociable creature, this eagerness after company and aversion of being alone ought to have been most conspicuous and most violent in

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the best of their kind, the men of the greatest genius, parts and accomplishments, and those who are the least subject to vice; the contrary of which is true. The weakest minds, who can the least govern their passions, guilty consciences that abhor reflexion, and the worthless, who are incapable of producing any thing of their own that's useful, are the greatest enemies to solitude, and will take up with any company rather than be without; whereas the men of sense and of knowledge, that can think and contemplate on things, and such as are but little disturbed by their passions, can bear to be by themselves the longest without reluctancy; and, to avoid noise, folly and impertinence, will run away from twenty companies; and, rather than meet with any thing disagreeable to their good taste, will prefer their closet or a garden, nay a common or a desart, to the society of some men.

But let us suppose the love of company so inseparable from our species, that no man could endure to be alone one moment, what conclusions could be drawn from this? does not man love company, as he does every thing else, for his own sake? No friendships or civilities are lasting that are not reciprocal. In all your weekly and daily meetings for diversion, as well as annual feasts, and the most solemn carouzals, every member that assists at them has his own ends, and some frequent a club, which they would never go to unless they were the top of it. I have known a man who was the oracle of the company be very constant, and as uneasy at any thing that hindred him from coming at the hour, leave his society altogether, as soon as another was added that could match, and dispute superiority with him. There are people

who are incapable of holding an argument, and yet malicious enough to take delight in hearing others wrangle; and tho' they never concern themselves in the controversy, would think a company insipid where they could not have that diversion. A good house, rich furniture, a fine garden, horses, dogs, ancestors, relations, beauty, strength, excellency in any thing whatever, vices as well as virtue, may all be accessary to make men long for society, in hopes that what they value themselves upon will at one time or other become the theme of the discourse, and give an inward satisfaction to them. Even the most polite people in the world, and such as I spoke of at first, give no pleasure to others that is not repaid to their self-love, and does not at last center in themselves, let them wind it and turn it as they will. But the plainest demonstration that in all clubs and societies of conversable people every body has the greatest consideration for himself is, that the disinterested, who rather over-pays than wrangles; the good-humour'd, that is never waspish, nor soon offended; the easy and indolent, that hates disputes, and never talks for triumph; is every where the darling of the company: whereas the man of sense and knowledge, that will not be imposed upon or talk'd out of his reason; the man of genius and spirit, that can say sharp and witty things, tho' he never lashes but what deserves it; the man of honour, who neither gives nor takes an affront, may be esteem'd, but is seldom so well beloved as a weaker man less accomplished.

As in these instances the friendly qualities arise from our contriving perpetually our own satisfaction, so on other occasions they proceed from the natural timidity of man, and the sollicitous care

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he takes of himself. Two Londoners, whose business oblige them not to have any commerce together, may know, see, and pass by one another every day upon the Exchange, with not much greater civility than bulls would: let them meet at Bristol, they'll pull off their hats, and on the least opportunity enter into conversation, and be glad of one another's company. When French, English and Dutch meet in China, or any other Pagan country, being all Europeans, they look upon one another as countrymen, and, if no passion interferes, will feel a natural propensity to love one another. Nay, two men that are at enmity, if they are forced to travel together, will often lay by their animosities, be affable and converse in a friendly manner, especially if the road be unsafe, and they are both strangers in the place they are to go to. These things by superficial judges are attributed to man's sociableness, his natural propensity to friendship and love of company; but whoever will duly examine things, and look into man more narrowly, will find that on all these occasions we only endeavour to strengthen our interest, and are moved by the causes already alledged.

What I have endeavoured hitherto, has been to prove that the *pulchrum & honestum*, excellency and real worth of things, are most commonly precarious and alterable as modes and customs vary; that consequently the inferences drawn from their certainty are insignificant; and that the generous notions concerning the natural goodness of man are hurtful as they tend to mis-lead, and are merely chimerical: the truth of this latter I have illustrated by the most obvious examples in history. I have spoke of our love of company and aversion to solitude, examined thoroughly the various

motives of them, and made it appear that they all center in self-love. I intend now to investigate into the nature of society, and, diving into the very rise of it, make it evident, that not the good and amiable, but the bad and hateful qualities of man, his imperfections, and the want of excellencies which other creatures are endued with, are the first causes that made man sociable beyond other animals the moment after he lost paradise; and that if he had remained in his primitive innocence, and continued to enjoy the blessings that attended it, there is no shadow of probability that he ever would have become that sociable creature he is now.

How necessary our appetites and passions are for the welfare of all trades and handicrafts has been sufficiently proved throughout the book, and that they are our bad qualities, or at least produce them, no body denies. It remains then that I should set forth the variety of obstacles that hinder and perplex man in the labour he is constantly employed in, the procuring of what he wants; and which in other words is called the business of self-preservation: whilst at the same time I demonstrate that the sociableness of man arises only from these two things, *viz.* The multiplicity of his desires, and the continual opposition he meets with in his endeavours to gratify them.

The obstacles I speak of relate either to our own frame, or the globe we inhabit, I mean the condition of it, since it has been curs'd. I have often endeavoured to contemplate separately on the two things I named last, but could never keep them asunder; they always interfere and mix with one another; and at last make up together a frightful chaos of evil. All the elements are our enemies, water

water drowns and fire consumes those who unskilfully approach them. The earth in a thousand places produces plants and other vegetables that are hurtful to man, whilst she feeds and cherishes a variety of creatures that are noxious to him; and suffers a legion of poisons to dwell within her: but the most unkind of all the elements is that which we cannot live one moment without: it is impossible to repeat all the injuries we receive from the wind and weather; and tho' the greatest part of mankind have ever been employed in defending their species from the inclemency of the air, yet no art or labour have hitherto been able to find a security against the wild rage of some meteors.

Hurricanes 'tis true happen but seldom, and few men are swallowed up by earthquakes, or devoured by lions; but whilst we escape those gigantic mischiefs we are persecuted by trifles. What a vast variety of insects are tormenting to us; what multitudes of them insult and make game of us with impunity! the most despicable scruple not to trample and graze upon us as cattle do upon a field; which yet is often bore with, if moderately they use their fortune; but here again our clemency becomes a vice, and so encroaching are their cruelty and contempt of us on our pity, that they make laystalls of our heads, and devour our young ones, if we are not daily vigilant in pursuing and destroying them.

There is nothing good in all the universe to the best-designing man, if either through mistake or ignorance he commits the least failing in the use of it: there is no innocence or integrity that can protect a man from a thousand mischiefs that surround him: on the contrary, every thing is evil,

which art and experience have not taught us to turn into a blessing. Therefore how diligent in harvest time is the husband-man in getting in his crop, and sheltering it from rain, without which he could never have enjoyed it! As seasons differ with the climates, experience has taught us differently to make use of them, and in one part of the globe we may see the farmer sow, whilst he is reaping in the other; from all which we may learn how vastly this earth must have been altered since the fall of our first parents. For should we trace man from his beautiful, his divine original, not proud of wisdom acquired by haughty precept or tedious experience, but endued with consummate knowledge the moment he was form'd; I mean the state of innocence, in which no animal or vegetable upon earth, nor mineral under ground was noxious to him, and himself, secure from the injuries of the air, as well as all other harms, was contented with the necessaries of life, which the globe he inhabited furnished him with, without his assistance. When yet not conscious of guilt, he found himself in every place to be the well-obeyed unrival'd lord of all, and, unaffected with his greatness, was wholly rapt up in sublime meditations on the infinity of his creator, who daily did vouchsafe intelligibly to speak to him, and visit him without mischief.

In such a golden age no reason or probability can be alledged why mankind ever should have rais'd themselves into such large societies as there have been in the world, as long as we can give any tolerable account of it. Where a man has every thing he desires, and nothing to vex or disturb him, there is nothing can be added to his happiness; and it is impossible to name a trade, art, science,

dignity

dignity or employment that would not be superfluous in such a blessed state. If we pursue this thought we shall easily perceive that no societies could have sprung from the amiable virtues and loving qualities of man, but on the contrary that all of them must have had their origin from his wants, his imperfections, and the variety of his appetites: we shall find likewise that the more their pride and vanity are displayed and all their desires enlarged, the more capable they must be of being raised into large and vastly numerous societies.

Was the air always as inoffensive to our naked bodies, and as pleasing as to our thinking it is to the generality of birds in fair weather, and man had not been affected with pride, luxury and hypocrisy, as well as lust, I cannot see what could have put us upon the invention of clothes and houses. I shall say nothing of jewels, of plate, painting, sculpture, fine furniture, and all that rigid moralists have called unnecessary and superfluous: but if we were not soon tired with walking a-foot, and were as nimble as some other animals; if men were naturally laborious, and none unreasonable in seeking and indulging their ease, and likewise free from other vices, and the ground was everywhere even, solid and clean, who would have thought of coaches, or ventured on a horse's back? what occasion has the dolphin for a ship, or what carriage would an eagle desire to travel in?

I hope the reader knows that by society I understand a body politic, in which man either subdued by superior force, or by persuasion drawn from his savage state, is become a disciplined creature, that can find his own ends in labouring for others, and where under one head or other

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form of government each member is render'd subservient to the whole, and all of them by cunning management are made to act as one. For if by society we only mean a number of people, that without rule or government should keep together out of a natural affection to their species, or love of company, as a herd of cows, or a flock of sheep, then there is not in the world a more unfit creature for society than man; an hundred of them that should be all equals, under no subjection, or fear of any superior upon earth, could never live together awake two hours without quarrelling, and the more knowledge, strength, wit, courage and resolution there was among them, the worse it would be.

It is probable that in the wild state of nature parents would keep a superiority over their children, at least while they were in strength; and that even afterwards the remembrance of what the others had experienced might produce in them something between love and fear, which we call reverence: it is probable likewise that the second generation following the example of the first, a man with a little cunning would always be able, as long as he lived and had his senses, to maintain a superior sway over all his own offspring and descendents, how numerous soever they might grow. But the old stock once dead, the sons would quarrel, and there could be no peace long, before there had been war. Eldership in brothers is of no great force, and the pre-eminence that is given to it only invented as a shift to live in peace. Man, as he is a fearful animal, naturally not rapacious, loves peace and quiet, and he would never fight, if no body offended him, and he could have what he fights for without it. To this fearful disposition

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and the aversion he has to his being disturbed, are owing all the various projects and forms of government. Monarchy without doubt was the first. Aristocracy and democracy were two different methods of mending the inconveniencies of the first, and a mixture of these three an improvement on all the rest.

But be we savages or politicians, it is impossible that man, mere fallen man, should act with any other view but to please himself whilst he has the use of his organs, and the greatest extravagancy either of love or despair can have no other center. There is no difference between will and pleasure in one sense, and every motion made in spight of them must be unnatural and convulsive. Since then action is so confined, and we are always forced to do what we please, and at the same time our thoughts are free and uncontroul'd, it is impossible we could be sociable creatures without hypocrisy. The proof of this is plain, since we cannot prevent the ideas that are continually arising within us, all civil commerce would be lost, if by art and prudent dissimulation we had not learned to hide and stifle them; and if all we think was to be laid open to others in the same manner as it is to ourselves, it is impossible that endued with speech we could be sufferable to one another. I am persuaded that every reader feels the truth of what I say; and I tell my antagonist that his conscience flies in his face, whilst his tongue is preparing to refute me. In all civil societies men are taught insensibly to be hypocrites from their cradle, no body dares to own that he gets by public calamities, or even by the loss of private persons. The sexton would be stoned should he wish openly for

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the death of the parishioners, though every body knew that he had nothing else to live upon.

To me it is a great pleasure, when I look on the affairs of human life, to behold into what various and often strangely opposite forms the hope of gain and thoughts of lucre shape men, according to the different employments they are of, and stations they are in. How gay and merry does every face appear at a well-ordered ball, and what a solemn sadness is observed at the masquerade of a funeral! but the undertaker is as much pleas'd with his gains as the dancing-master: both are equally tired in their occupations, and the mirth of the one is as much forced as the gravity of the other is affected. Those who have never minded the conversation of a spruce mercer, and a young lady his customer that comes to his shop, have neglected a scene of life that is very entertaining. I beg of my serious reader, that he would for a while abate a little of his gravity, and suffer me to examine these people separately, as to their inside and the different motives they act from.

His business is to sell as much silk as he can, at a price by which he shall get what he proposes to be reasonable, according to the customary profits of the trade. As to the lady, what she would be at is to please her fancy, and buy cheaper by a groat or sixpence *per* yard than the things she wants are commonly sold at. From the impression the gallantry of our sex has made upon her, she imagines (if she be not very deform'd) that she has a fine mien and easy behaviour, and a peculiar sweetness of voice; that she is handsome, and if not beautiful, at least more agreeable than most young women she knows. As she has no pretensions to purchase the same things with less money than

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other people, but what are built on her good qualities, so she sets herself off to the best advantage her wit and discretion will let her. The thoughts of love are here out of the case; so on the one hand she has no room for playing the tyrant, and giving herself angry and peevish airs, and on the other more liberty of speaking kindly, and being affable than she can have almost on any other occasion. She knows that abundance of well-bred people come to his shop, and endeavours to render herself as amiable as virtue and the rules of decency allow of. Coming with such a resolution of behaviour, she cannot meet with any thing to ruffle her temper.

Before her coach is yet quite stopped, she is approach'd by a gentleman-like man, that has every thing clean and fashionable about him, who in low obeisance pays her homage, and as soon as her pleasure is known that she has a-mind to come in, hands her into the shop, where immediately he slips from her, and through a by-way that remains visible only for half a moment with great address entrenches himself behind the counter: here facing her, with a profound reverence and modish phrase, he begs the favour of knowing her commands. Let her say and dislike what she pleases, she can never be directly contradicted: she deals with a man in whom consummate patience is one of the mysteries of his trade, and whatever trouble she creates, she is sure to hear nothing but the most obliging language, and has always before her a chearful countenance, where joy and respect seem to be blended with good-humour, and altogether make up an artificial serenity more engaging than untaught nature is able to produce.

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When two persons are so well met, the conversation must be very agreeable, as well as extremely mannerly, tho' they talk about trifles. Whilst she remains irresolute what to take, he seems to be the same in advising her; and is very cautious how to direct her choice; but when once she has made it and is fixed, he immediately becomes positive, that it is the best of the sort, extols her fancy, and the more he looks upon it, the more he wonders he should not before have discovered the pre-eminence of it over any thing he has in his shop. By precept, example and great application, he has learned unobserved to slide into the inmost recesses of the soul, sound the capacity of his customers, and find out their blind side unknown to them: by all which he is instructed in fifty other stratagems to make her over-value her own judgment as well as the commodity she would purchase. The greatest advantage he has over her, lyes in the most material part of the commerce between them, the debate about the price, which he knows to a farthing, and she is wholly ignorant of: therefore he no where more egregiously imposes on her understanding; and tho' here he has the liberty of telling what lies he pleases, as to the prime cost, and the money he has refused, yet he trusts not to them only; but attacking her vanity makes her believe the most incredible things in the world, concerning his own weakness and her superior abilities; he had taken a resolution, he says, never to part with that piece under such a price, but she has the power of talking him out of his goods beyond any body he ever sold to: he protests that he loses by his silk, but seeing that she has a fancy for it, and is resolved to give no more, rather than disoblige a lady he has such an uncommon value for, he'll let

let her have it, and only begs that another time she will not stand so hard with him. In the mean time the buyer, who knows that she is no fool, and has a volubile tongue, is easily persuaded that she has a very winning way of talking, and thinking it sufficient for the sake of good breeding to disown her merit, and in some witty repartee retort the compliment, he makes her swallow very contentedly the substance of every thing he tells her. The upshot is, that with the satisfaction of having saved ninepence *per* yard, she has bought her silk exactly at the same price as any body else might have done, and often gives sixpence more, than, rather than not have sold it, he would have taken.

It is possible that this lady for want of being sufficiently flattered, for a fault she is pleased to find in his behaviour, or perhaps the tying of his neck-cloth, or some other dislike as substantial, may be lost, and her custom bestowed on some other of the fraternity. But where many of them live in a cluster, it is not always easily determined which shop to go to, and the reasons some of the fair sex have for their choice are often very whimsical and kept as a great secret. We never follow our inclinations with more freedom, than where they cannot be traced, and it is unreasonable for others to suspect them. A virtuous woman has preferred one house to all the rest, because she had seen a handsome fellow in it, and another of no bad character for having received greater civility before it, than had been paid her anywhere else, when she had no thoughts of buying, and was going to Paul's church: for among the fashionable mercers the fair dealer must keep before his own door, and to draw in random customers make use of no other freedom or importunities than an obsequious

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air, with a submissive posture, and perhaps a bow to every well-dressed female that offers to look toward his shop.

What I have said last makes me think on another way of inviting customers, the most distant in the world from what I have been speaking of, I mean that which is practised by the watermen, especially on those whom by their mien and garb they know to be peasants. It is not unpleasant to see half a dozen people surround a man they never saw in their lives before, and two of them that can get the nearest, clapping each an arm over his neck, hug him in as loving and familiar a manner as if he was their brother newly come home from an East-India voyage; a third lays hold of his hand, another of his sleeve, his coat, the buttons of it, or any thing he can come at, whilst a fifth or a sixth, who has scampered twice round him already without being able to get at him, plants himself directly before the man in hold, and within three inches of his nose, contradicting his rivals with an open-mouth'd cry, shews him a dreadful set of large teeth, and a small remainder of chew'd bread and cheese, which the countryman's arrival had hindred from being swallowed.

At all this no offence is taken, and the peasant justly thinks they are making much of him; therefore, far from opposing them, he patiently suffers himself to be push'd or pull'd which way the strength that surrounds him shall direct. He has not the delicacy to find fault with a man's breath, who has just blown out his pipe, or a greasy head of hair that is rubbing against his chops: dirt and sweat he has been used to from his cradle, and it is no disturbance to him to hear half a score of people, some of them at his ear, and the furthest not five

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foot from him, bawl out as if he was a hundred yards off: he is conscious that he makes no less noise when he is merry himself, and is secretly pleas'd with their boisterous usages. The hawling and pulling him about he construes the way it is intended; it is a courtship he can feel and understand: he cannot help wishing them well for the esteem they seem to have for him: he loves to be taken notice of, and admires the Londoners for being so pressing in the offers of their service to him, for the value of threepence or less; whereas in the country at the shop he uses, he can have nothing but he must first tell them what he wants, and, tho' he lays out three or four shillings at a time, has hardly a word spoke to him unless it be in answer to a question himself is forced to ask first. This alacrity in his behalf moves his gratitude, and unwilling to disoblige any, from his heart he knows not whom to chuse. I have seen a man think all this, or something like it, as plainly as I could see the nose in his face; and at the same time move along very contentedly under a load of watermen, and with a smiling countenance carry seven or eight stone more than his own weight, to the water-side.

If the little mirth I have shewn, in the drawing of these two images from low life, mis-becomes me, I am sorry for it, but I promise not to be guilty of that fault any more; and will now without loss of time proceed with my argument in artless dull simplicity, and demonstrate the gross error of those who imagine that the social virtues, and the amiable qualities that are praise-worthy in us, are equally beneficial to the public as they are to the individual persons that are possessed of them, and that the means of thriving and whatever conduces

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to the welfare and real happiness of private families must have the same effect upon the whole society. This I confess I have labour'd for all along, and I flatter myself not unsuccessfully: but I hope no body will like a problem the worse for seeing the truth of it proved more ways than one.

It is certain that the fewer desires a man has, and the less he covets, the more easy he is to himself; the more active he is to supply his own wants, and the less he requires to be waited upon, the more he will be beloved and the less trouble he is in a family; the more he loves peace and concord, the more charity he has for his neighbour, and the more he shines in real virtue, there is no doubt but that in proportion he is acceptable to God and man. But let us be just, what benefit can these things be of, or what earthly good can they do, to promote the wealth, the glory and worldly greatness of nations? it is the sensual courtier that sets no limits to his luxury; the fickle strumpet that invents new fashions every week; the haughty dutchess that in equipage, entertainments, and all her behaviour would imitate a princess; the profuse rake and lavish heir, that scatter about their money without wit or judgment, buy every thing they see, and either destroy or give it away the next day: the covetous and perjured villain that squeezed an immense treasure from the tears of widows and orphans, and left the prodigals the money to spend: it is these that are the prey and proper food of a full grown leviathan; or in other words, such is the calamitous condition of human affairs that we stand in need of the plagues and monsters I named to have all the variety of labour perform'd, which the skill of men is capable of inventing in order to procure

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an honeſt livelihood to the vaſt multitudes of working poor, that are required to make a large ſociety: and it is folly to imagine that great and wealthy nations can ſubſiſt, and be at once powerful and polite without.

I proteſt againſt Popery as much as ever Luther or Calvin did, or queen Eliſabeth herſelf; but I believe from my heart, that the reformation has ſcarce been more inſtrumental in rendering the kingdoms and ſtates that have embraced it flouriſhing beyond other nations, than the ſilly and capricious invention of hooped and quilted petticoats. But if this ſhould be denied me by the enemies of prieſtly power, at leaſt I am ſure that, bar the great men who have fought for and againſt that lay-man's bleſſing, it has from its firſt beginning to this day not employed ſo many hands, honeſt induſtrious labouring hands, as the abominable improvement on female luxury I named has done in few years. Religion is one thing, and trade is another. He that gives moſt trouble to thouſands of his neighbours, and invents the moſt operoſe manufactures is, right or wrong, the greateſt friend to the ſociety.

What a buſtle is there to be made in ſeveral parts of the world before a fine ſcarlet or crimſon cloth can be produced, what multiplicity of trades and artificers muſt be employed! not only ſuch as are obvious, as wool-combers, ſpinners, the weaver, the cloth-worker, the ſcowrer, the dyer, the ſetter, the drawer and the packer; but others that are more remote and might ſeem foreign to it, as the mill-wright, the pewterer and the chymiſt, which yet are all neceſſary as well as a great number of other handicrafts to have the tools, utenſils and other implements belonging to the

the trades already named: but all these things are done at home, and may be performed without extraordinary fatigue or danger: the most frightful prospect is left behind, when we reflect on the toil and hazard that are to be undergone abroad, the vast seas we are to go over, the different climates we are to endure, and the several nations we must be obliged to for their assistance. Spain alone it is true might furnish us with wool to make the finest cloth; but what skill and pains, what experience and ingenuity are required to dye it of those beautiful colours! how widely are the drugs and other ingredients dispersed through the universe that are to meet in one kettle. Allum indeed we have of our own; argol we might have from the Rhine, and vitriol from Hungary; all this is in Europe: but then for saltpetre in quantity we are forced to go as far as the East-Indies; cocheneal, unknown to the antients, is not much nearer to us, tho' in a quite different part of the earth; we buy it 'tis true from the Spaniards, but not being their product, they are forced to fetch it for us from the remotest corner of the new world in the East-Indies. Whilst so many sailors are broiling in the sun and sweltered with heat in the East and West of us, another sett of them are freezing in the North to fetch potashes from Russia.

When we are thoroughly acquainted with all the variety of toil and labour, the hardships and calamities that must be undergone to compass the end I speak of, and we consider the vast risques and perils that are run in those voyages, and that few of them are ever made but at the expence, not only of health and welfare, but even the lives of many: when we are acquainted with, I say,

say, and duly consider the things I named, it is scarce possible to conceive a tyrant so inhuman and void of shame, that, beholding things in the same view, he should exact such terrible services from his innocent slaves; and at the same time dare to own, that he did it for no other reason, than the satisfaction a man receives from having a garment made of scarlet or crimson cloth. But to what height of luxury must a nation be arrived, where not only the king's officers, but likewise his guards, even the private soldiers, should have such impudent desires?

But if we turn the prospect, and look on all those labours as so many voluntary actions, belonging to different callings and occupations that men are brought up to for a livelyhood, and in which every one works for himself, how much soever he may seem to labour for others: if we consider, that even the sailors, who undergo the greatest hardships, as soon as one voyage is ended, even after ship-wreck, are looking out and soliciting for employment in another: if we consider, I say, and look on these things in another view, we shall find that the labour of the poor is so far from being a burden and an imposition upon them; that to have employment is a blessing, which in their addresses to heaven they pray for, and to procure it for the generality of them is the greatest care of every legislature.

As children and even infants are the apes of others, so all youth have an ardent desire of being men and women, and become often ridiculous by their impatient endeavours to appear what every body sees they are not: all large societies are not a little indebted to this folly, for the perpetuity, or at least long continuance, of trades once established.

What pains will young people take, and what violence will they not commit upon themselves, to attain to insignificant and often blameable qualifications, which, for want of judgment and experience, they admire in others, that are superior to them in age! this fondness of imitation makes them accustom themselves by degrees to the use of things that were irksome, if not intolerable to them at first, till they know not how to leave them, and are often very sorry for having inconsiderately increas'd the necessaries of life without any necessity. What estates have been got by tea and coffee! what a vast traffic is drove, what a variety of labour is performed in the world to the maintenance of thousands of families that altogether depend on two silly if not odious customs; the taking of snuff and smoaking of tobacco; both which it is certain do infinitely more hurt than good to those that are addicted to them! I shall go further, and demonstrate the usefulness of private losses and misfortunes to the public, and the folly of our wishes, when we pretend to be most wise and serious. The fire of London was a great calamity; but if the carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, and all, not only that are employed in building, but likewise those that made and dealt in the same manufactures and other merchandises that were burnt, and other trades again that got by them when they were in full employ, were to vote against those who lost by the fire: the rejoicings would equal if not exceed the complaints. In recruiting what is lost and destroyed by fire, storms, sea-fights, sieges, battles, a considerable part of trade consists; the truth of which and whatever I have said of the nature of society will plainly appear from what follows.

It would be a difficult task to enumerate all the advantages and different benefits that accrue to a nation on account of shipping and navigation. But if we only take into consideration the ships themselves, and every vessel great and small that is made use of for water carriage, from the least wherry to a first rate man of war; the timber and hands that are employed in the building of them: and consider the pitch, tar, rosin, grease; the masts, yards, sails and riggings; the variety of smiths work, the cables, oars and every thing else belonging to them: we shall find that to furnish only such a nation as ours with all these necessaries make up a considerable part of the traffic of Europe, without speaking of the stores and ammunition of all sorts that are consumed in them, or the mariners, watermen and others, with their families, that are maintained by them.

But should we on the other hand take a view of the manifold mischiefs and variety of evils, moral as well as natural, that befal nations on the score of seafaring and their commerce with strangers, the prospect would be very frightful; and could we suppose a large populous island, that should be wholly unacquainted with ships and sea affairs, but otherwise a wise and well-governed people; and that some angel or their genius should lay before them a scheme or draught, where they might see, on the one side, all the riches and real advantages that would be acquired by navigation in a thousand years; and on the other, the wealth and lives that would be lost, and all the other calamities that would be unavoidably sustained on account of it, during the same time, I am confident, they would look upon ships with horror and detestation, and that their prudent rulers

would severely forbid the making and inventing all buildings or machines to go to sea with, of what shape or denomination soever, and prohibit all such abominable contrivances on great penalties, if not the pain of death.

But to let alone the necessary consequence of foreign trade, the corruption of manners, as well as plagues, poxes, and other diseases, that are brought to us by shipping, should we only cast our eyes on what is either to be imputed to the wind and weather, the treachery of the seas, the ice of the north, the vermin of the south, the darkness of nights, and unwholsomeness of climates, or else occasioned by the want of good provisions and the faults of mariners, the unskilfulness of some, and the neglect and drunkenness of others; and should we consider the losses of men and treasure swallowed up in the deep, the tears and necessities of widows and orphans made by the sea, the ruin of merchants and the consequences, the continual anxieties that parents and wives are in for the safety of their children and husbands, and not forget the many pangs and heart-akes that are felt throughout a trading nation by owners and insurers at every blast of wind: should we cast our eyes, I say, on these things, consider with due attention and give them the weight they deserve, would it not be amazing, how a nation of thinking people should talk of their ships and navigation as a peculiar blessing to them, and place an uncommon felicity in having an infinity of vessels dispers'd through the wide world, and always some going to and others coming from every part of the universe?

But let us once, in our consideration on these things, confine ourselves to what the ships suffer only,

only, the veſſels themſelves with their rigging and appurtenances, without thinking on the freight they carry, or the hands that work them, and we ſhall find that the damage ſuſtain'd that way only is very conſiderable, and muſt one year with another amount to vaſt ſums: the ſhips that are foundered at ſea, ſplit againſt rocks and ſwallowed up by ſands, ſome by the fierceneſs of tempeſts altogether, others by that and the want of pilot's experience and knowledge of the coaſts: the maſts that are blown down or forced to be cut and thrown over-board, the yards, ſails and cordage of different ſizes that are deſtroyed by ſtorms, and the anchors that are loſt: add to theſe the neceſſary repairs of leaks ſprung, and other hurts received from the rage of winds, and the violence of the waves: many ſhips are ſet on fire by careleſneſs, and the effects of ſtrong liquors, which none are more addicted to than ſailors: ſometimes unhealthy climates, at others the badneſs of proviſion, breed fatal diſtempers that ſweep away the greateſt part of the crew, and not a few ſhips are loſt for want of hands.

Theſe are all calamities inſeparable from navigation, and ſeem to be great impediments that clog the wheels of foreign commerce. How happy would a merchant think himſelf, if his ſhips ſhould always have fine weather, and the wind he wiſhed for, and every mariner he employed, from the higheſt to the loweſt, be a knowing experienced ſailor, and a careful, ſober, good man! was ſuch a felicity to be had for prayers, what owner of ſhips is there or dealer in Europe, nay the whole world, who would not be all day long teazing heaven to obtain ſuch a bleſſing for himſelf, without regard what detriment it would do to others?

Such a petition would certainly be a very unconscionable one; yet where is the man who imagines not that he has a right to make it? And therefore, as every one pretends to an equal claim to those favours, let us, without reflecting on the impossibility of its being true, suppose all their prayers effectual and their wishes answered, and afterwards examine into the result of such a happiness.

Ships would last as long as timber-houses to the full, because they are as strongly built, and the latter are liable to suffer by high winds and other storms, which the first by our supposition are not to be: so that, before there would be any real occasion for new ships, the master builders now in being and every body under them, that is set to work about them, would all die a natural death, if they were not starved or come to some untimely end: for in the first place, all ships having prosperous gales, and never waiting for the wind, they would make very quick voyages both out and home. Secondly, no merchandises would be damaged by the sea, or by stress of weather thrown overboard, but the entire lading would always come safe ashore; and hence it would follow, that three parts in four of the merchant-men already made would be superfluous for the present, and the stock of ships that are now in the world serve a vast many years. Masts and yards would last as long as the vessels themselves, and we should not need to trouble Norway on that score a great while yet. The sails and rigging indeed of the few ships made use of would wear out, but not a quarter part so fast as now they do, for they often suffer more in one hour's storm, than in ten days fair weather.

Anchors

Anchors and cables there would be seldom any occasion for, and one of each would last a ship time out of mind: this article alone would yield many a tedious holyday to the anchor-smiths and the rope-yards. This general want of consumption would have such an influence on the timber-merchants, and all that import iron, sail-cloth, hemp, pitch, tar, &c. that four parts in five of what, in the beginning of this reflection on sea-affairs, I said made a considerable branch of the traffic in Europe, would be entirely lost.

I have only touch'd hitherto on the consequences of this blessing in relation to shipping; but it would be detrimental to all other branches of trade besides, and destructive to the poor of every country, that exports any thing of their own growth or manufacture. The goods and merchandises that every year go to the deep, that are spoil'd at sea by salt water, by heat, by vermin, destroyed by fire, or lost to the merchant by other accidents, all owing to storms or tedious voyages, or else the neglect or rapacity of sailors; such goods, I say, and merchandises are a considerable part of what every year is sent abroad throughout the world, and must have employed great multitudes of poor before they could come on board. A hundred bales of cloth that are burnt or sunk in the Mediterranean, are as beneficial to the poor in England, as if they had safely arrived at Smyrna or Aleppo, and every yard of them had been retailed in the Grand Signior's dominions.

The merchant may break; and by him the clothier, the dyer, the packer, and other tradesmen, the middling people, may suffer; but the poor that were set to work about them can never lose. Day-labourers commonly receive their earnings

once a week, and all the working people that were employed either in any of the various branches of the manufacture itſelf, or the ſeveral land and water-carriages it requires to be brought to perfection, from the ſheep's back, to the veſſel it was entred in, were paid, at leaſt much the greateſt part of them, before the parcel came on board. Should any of my readers draw concluſions *in infinitum* from my aſſertions that goods ſunk or burnt are as beneficial to the poor as if they had been well ſold and put to their proper uſes, I would count him a caviller and not worth anſwering: ſhould it always rain and the ſun never ſhine, the fruits of the earth would ſoon be rotten and deſtroyed; and yet it is no paradox to affirm, that, to have graſs or corn, rain is as neceſſary as the ſunſhine.

In what manner this bleſſing of fair winds and fine weather would affect the mariners themſelves, and the breed of ſailors, may be eaſily conjectured from what has been ſaid already. As there would hardly one ſhip in four be made uſe of, ſo the veſſels themſelves being always exempt from ſtorms, fewer hands would be required to work them, and conſequently five in ſix of the ſeamen we have might be ſpared, which in this nation, moſt employments of the poor being overſtocked, would be but an untoward article. As ſoon as thoſe ſuperfluous ſeamen ſhould be extinct, it would be impoſſible to man ſuch large fleets as we could at preſent: but I do not look upon this as a detriment, or the leaſt inconveniency: for the reduction of mariners as to numbers being general throughout the world, all the conſequence would be, that in caſe of war the maritime powers would be obliged to fight with fewer ſhips, which would

be

be an happineſs inſtead of an evil: and would you carry this felicity to the higheſt pitch of perfection, it is but to add one deſireable bleſſing more, and no nation ſhall ever fight at all: the bleſſing I hint at is, what all good Chriſtians are bound to pray for, *viz.* that all princes and ſtates would be true to their oaths and promiſes, and juſt to one another, as well as their own ſubjects; that they might have a greater regard for the dictates of conſcience and religion, than thoſe of ſtate politics and worldly wiſdom, and prefer the ſpiritual welfare of others to their own carnal deſires, and the honeſty, the ſafety, the peace and tranquillity of the nations they govern, to their own love of glory, ſpirit of revenge, avarice and ambition.

The laſt paragraph will to many ſeem a digreſſion, that makes little for my purpoſe; but what I mean by it is to demonſtrate that goodneſs, integrity, and a peaceful diſpoſition in rulers and governors of nations, are not the proper qualifications to aggrandiſe them, and encreaſe their numbers; any more than the uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs that every private perſon would be bleſt with, if he could, and which I have ſhewn would be injurious and deſtructive to a large ſociety, that ſhould place a felicity in worldly greatneſs, and being envied by their neighbours, and value themſelves upon their honour and their ſtrength.

No man needs to guard himſelf againſt bleſſings, but calamities require hands to avert them. The amiable qualities of man put none of the ſpecies upon ſtirring: his honeſty, his love of company, his goodneſs, content and frugality are ſo many comforts to an indolent ſociety; and the more real and unaffected they are, they more they keep every

thing at rest and peace, and the more they will every where prevent trouble and motion itself. The same almost may be said of the gifts and munificence of heaven, and all the bounties and benefits of nature: this is certain, that the more extensive they are, and the greater plenty we have of them, the more we save our labour. But the necessities, the vices and imperfections of man, together with the various inclemencies of the air and other elements, contain in them the seeds of all arts, industry and labour: it is the extremities of heat and cold, the inconstancy and badness of seasons, the violence and uncertainty of winds, the vast power and treachery of water, the rage and untractableness of fire, and the stubbornes and sterility of the earth, that rack our invention, how we shall either avoid the mischiefs they may produce, or correct the malignity of them, and turn their several forces to our advantage a thousand different ways; whilst we are employ'd in supplying the infinite variety of our wants, which will ever be multiplied as our knowledge is enlarged and our desires encrease. Hunger, thirst and nakedness are the first tyrants that force us to stir: afterwards our pride, sloth, sensuality and sickleness are the great patrons that promote all arts and sciences, trades, handicrafts and callings; whilst the great task-masters, necessity, avarice, envy and ambition, each in the class that belongs to him, keep the members of the society to their labour, and make them all submit, most of them chearfully, to the drudgery of their station; kings and princes not excepted.

The greater the variety of trades and manufactures, the more operose they are, and the more they are divided in many branches, the greater numbers

numbers may be contained in a society without being in one another's way, and the more easily they may be rendred a rich, potent and flourishing people. Few virtues employ any hands, and therefore they may render a small nation good, but they can never make a great one. To be strong and laborious, patient in difficulties, and assiduous in all business, are commendable qualities; but as they do their own work, so they are their own reward, and neither art nor industry have ever paid their compliments to them; whereas the excellency of human thought and contrivance has been and is yet no where more conspicuous than in variety of tools and instruments of workmen and artificers, and the multiplicity of engines, that were all invented either to assist the weakness of man, to correct his many imperfections, to gratify his laziness, or obviate his impatience.

It is in morality as it is in nature, there is nothing so perfectly good in creatures that it cannot be hurtful to any one of the society, nor any thing so entirely evil, but it may prove beneficial to some part or other of the creation: so that things are only good and evil in reference to something else, and according to the light and position they are placed in. What pleases us is good in that regard, and by this rule every man wishes well for himself to the best of his capacity, with little respect to his neighbour. There never was any rain yet, tho' in a very dry season when public prayers had been made for it, but somebody or other who wanted to go abroad wished it might be fair weather only for that day. When the corn stands thick in the spring, and the generality of the country rejoice at the pleasing object, the rich farmer, who kept his last year's crop for a better market, pines

at the sight, and inwardly grieves at the prospect of a plentiful harvest. Nay, we shall often hear your idle people openly wish for the possessions of others, and, not to be injurious forsooth, add this wise proviso, that it should be without detriment to the owners: but I'm afraid they often do it without any such restriction in their hearts.

It is a happiness that the prayers as well as wishes of most people are insignificant and good for nothing; or else the only thing that could keep mankind fit for society, and the world from falling into confusion, would be the impossibility that all the petitions made to heaven should be granted. A dutiful pretty young gentleman newly come from his travels lyes at the Briel waiting with impatience for an Easterly wind to waft him over to England, where a dying father, who wants to embrace and give him his blessing before he yields his breath, lyes moaning after him, melted with grief and tenderness: in the mean while a British minister, who is to take care of the Protestant interest in Germany, is riding post to Harwich, and in violent haste to be at Ratisbon before the diet breaks up. At the same time a rich fleet lyes ready for the Mediterranean, and a fine squadron is bound for the Baltic. All these things may probably happen at once, at least there is no difficulty in supposing they should. If these people are not Atheists, or very great reprobates, they will all have some good thoughts before they go to sleep, and consequently about bed-time they must all differently pray for a fair wind and a prosperous voyage. I don't say but it is their duty, and it is possible they may be all heard, but I am sure they cannot be all served at the same time.

After

After this, I flatter myſelf to have demonſtrated that, neither the friendly qualities and kind affections that are natural to man, nor the real virtues he is capable of acquiring by reaſon and ſelf-denial, are the foundation of ſociety; but that what we call evil in this world, moral as well as natural, is the grand principle that makes us ſociable creatures, the ſolid baſis, the life and ſupport of all trades and enployments without exception: that there we muſt look for the true origin of all arts and ſciences, and that the moment evil ceaſes, the ſociety muſt be ſpoiled, if not totally diſſolved.

I could add a thouſand things to enforce and further illuſtrate this truth with abundance of pleaſure; but for fear of being troubleſome I ſhall make an end, tho' I confeſs that I have not been half ſo ſolicitous to gain the approbation of others, as I have ſtudied to pleaſe myſelf in this amuſement; yet if ever I hear, that by following this diverſion I have given any to the intelligent reader, it will always add to the ſatisfaction I have received in the performance. In the hope my vanity forms of this, I leave him with regrete, and concluding with repeating the ſeeming paradox, the ſubſtance of which is advanced in the title page; that PRIVATE VICES by the dextrous management of a ſkilful politician may be turned into PUBLIC BENEFITS.

THE END.

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VINDICATION

OF THE

BOOK.

350

A VINDICATION OF THE BOOK FROM THE ASPERSIONS contain'd in a presentment of the Grand Jury of MIDDLESEX, and an abusive letter to lord C.

THAT the reader may be fully instructed in the merits of the cause between my adversaries and myself, it is requisite that, before he sees my defence, he should know the whole charge, and have before him all the accusations against me at large.

The presentment of the Grand Jury is worded thus:

WE the grand jury for the county of *Middlesex* have, with the greatest sorrow and concern, observed the many books and pamphlets that are almost every week published against the sacred articles of our *holy religion*, and all discipline and order in the *church*, and the manner in which this

is

is carried on, seems to us to have a direct tendency to *propagate infidelity*, and consequently corruption of all morals.

We are justly sensible of the goodness of the Almighty, that has preserved us from the *plague*, which has visited our neighbouring nation, and for which great mercy his majesty was graciously pleased to command, by his proclamation, that thanks should be returned to heaven; but how provoking must it be to the almighty, that his mercies and deliverances extended to this nation, and our thanksgiving that was publicly commanded for it should be attended with such flagrant impieties!

We know of nothing that can be of greater service to his majesty and the Protestant succession, (which is happily established among us for the defence of the *Christian religion*,) than the suppression of blasphemy and prophaneness, which has a direct tendency to subvert the very foundation on which his majesty's government is fixed.

So restless have these *zealots for infidelity* been in their diabolical attempts against religion, that they have,

First, Openly blasphemed and denied the doctrine of the ever *blessed Trinity*, endeavouring by specious pretences to revive the *Arian heresy*, which was never introduced into any nation, but the vengeance of heaven pursued it.

Secondly, They affirm an absolute *fate*, and deny the *providence* and government of the Almighty in the world.

Thirdly, They have endeavoured to subvert all order and discipline of the church, and by vile and unjust reflections on the *clergy* they strive to bring contempt on all religion; that by the libertinism of their opinions they may encourage and draw others into the immoralities of their practice.

Fourthly, That a general libertinism may the more effectually be established, the *universities* are decried, and all *instructions of youth* in the princi-

ples of the Christian religion are exploded with the greatest malice and falsity.

Fifthly, The more effectually to carry on these works of darkness, studied artifices and invented colours have been made use of to run down religion and virtue as *prejudicial* to society, and detrimental to the state; and to recommend luxury, avarice, pride, and all kind of vices, as being necessary to *public welfare*, and not tending to the *destruction* of the constitution: nay, the very *stews* themselves have had strained apologies and forced encomiums made in their favour, and produced in print, with design, we conceive, to debauch the nation.

These principles having a direct tendency to the subversion of all religion and civil government, our duty to the *Almighty*, our love to our *country*, and regard to our *oaths*, oblige us to present as the publisher of a book, entituled The FABLE OF THE BEES; OR PRIVATE VICES PUBLIC BENEFITS. 2d edit. 1723

And also as the publisher of a weekly paper, called the British Journal, numb. 26, 35, 36 and 39.

The Letter I complain of is this;

MY LORD,

'TIS welcome news to all the king's loyal subjects and true friends to the established government and succession in the *illustrious house of* Hanover, that your lordship is said to be contriving some *effectual* means of securing us from the dangers, wherewith his majesty's happy government seems to be threatned by *Catiline*, under the name of *Cato*; by the writer of a book entituled, THE FABLE OF THE BEES, *&c.* and by others of their *fraternity*, who are undoubtedly useful friends to the *Pretender*, and diligent for his sake, in labouring to subvert

subvert and ruin our constitution, under a specious pretence of defending it. Your lordship's wise resolution, totally to suppress such impious writings, and the direction already given for having them *presented*, immediately, by some of the *grand Juries*, will effectually convince the nation, that no attempts against *Christianity* will be suffered or endured here. And this conviction will at once rid men's minds of the uneasiness which this flagitious race of writers has endeavoured to raise in them; will therefore be a firm bulwark to the *Protestant religion*; will effectually defeat the projects and hopes of the *Pretender*; and best secure us against any change in the *ministry*. And no *faithful Briton* could be unconcerned, if the people should imagine any the least neglect in any single person bearing a part in the ministry, or begin to grow *jealous* that any thing could be done, which is not done in defending their religion from every the least appearance of danger approaching towards it. And, my lord, this *jealousy* might have been apt to rise, if no measures had been taken to discourage and crush the open advocates of *irreligion*. 'Tis no easy matter to get jealousy out of one's brains, when 'tis once got into them. Jealousy, my lord! 'Tis as *furious* a fiend as any of them all. I have seen a little thin weak woman so invigorated by a fit of *jealousy* that five grenadiers could not hold her. My lord, go on with your just methods of keeping the people clear of this cursed *jealousy*: for amongst the various kinds and occasions of it, that which concerns their religion, is the most violent, flagrant, frantic sort of all; and accordingly has, in former reigns, produced those various mischiefs, which your lordship has faithfully determined to prevent, dutifully regarding the royal authority, and conforming to the *example* of his majesty, who has graciously given *DIRECTIONS* (which are well known to your lordship) *for the preserving of unity in the church; and the purity of the Christian faith.*

'Tis in vain to think that the people of England will ever give up their *religion*, or be very fond of any *ministry* that will not support it, as the wisdom of this ministry has done, against such audacious attacks as are made upon it by the *scriblers*; for *scribler*, your lordship knows, is the just appellation of every author, who, under whatever plausible appearance of good sense, attempts to undermine the religion, and therefore the content and quiet, the peace and happiness of his fellow-subjects, by subtle and artful and falacious arguments and insinuations. May heaven avert those insufferable miseries, which the church of Rome would bring upon us! *tyranny* is the bane of human society; and there is no tyranny heavier than that of the *triple crown*. And therefore, this free and happy people has justly conceived an utter abhorrence and dread of Popery, and of every thing that looks like encouragement or tendency to it; but they do also abhor and dread the violence offered to *Christianity* itself, by our British *Catilines*, who shelter their treacherous designs against it, under the false colours of regard and good-will to our blessed Protestant religion, whilst they demonstrate, too *plainly* demonstrate, that the title of *Protestants* does not belong to them, unless it can belong to those who are in effect protesters against *all religion*.

And really, the people cannot be much blamed for being a little unwilling to part with their religion: for they tell ye, that there is a *God*; and that *God* governs the world; and that he is wont to bless or blast a kingdom, in proportion to the degrees of *religion* or *irreligion* prevailing in it. Your lordship has a fine collection of books; and, which is a finer thing still, you do certainly understand them, and can turn to an account of any important affair in a trice. I would therefore fain know, whether your lordship can show, from any *writer*, let him be as *prophane* as the *scriblers* would have him, that any one

one empire, kingdom, country or province, great or small, did not dwindle and sink, and was confounded, when it once fail'd of *providing* studiously for the *support of religion*.

The *scribblers* talk much of the *Roman* government, and *liberty*, and the *spirit* of the *old Romans*. But 'tis undeniable, that their most plausible talk of these things is all *pretence*, and *grimace*, and an *artifice* to serve the purposes of irreligion; and by consequence to render the people *uneasy*, and ruin the kingdom. For if they did in *reality* esteem, and would faithfully recommend to their country-men, the sentiments and principles, the main purposes and practices of the wise and prosperous Romans, they would, in the first place, put us in mind, that *old Rome* was as remarkable for *observing* and promoting *natural religion*, as *new Rome* has been for corrupting that which is *reveal'd*. And as the *old Romans* did signally recommend themselves to the favour of heaven by their faithful *care of religion*; so were they abundantly convinced, and did accordingly acknowledge, with *universal* consent, that their care of religion was the *great means* † of *God*'s preserving the empire, and crowning it with conquest and success, prosperity and glory. Hence it was, that when their *orators* were bent upon exerting their utmost in moving and perswading the people, upon any occasion, they ever put them in mind of their *religion*, if that could be any way affected by the point in debate; not doubting that the people would determine in their *favour*, if they could but demonstrate, that the safety of *religion* depended upon the success of their *cause*. And indeed, neither the Romans, nor any other nation upon earth, did ever suffer their *established religion* to be *openly* ridicul'd, exploded or opposed: and I'm sure, your lordship would not,

† *Quis est tam vecors qui non intelligat, ita sibi ne* [illegible] *jecturi esse natum, auctum & retentum?*

Cic. Orat. de Haruſp. Reſp.

for all the world, that this thing ſhould be done with *impunity* amongſt *us*, which was never endured in the world before. Did ever any man, ſince the bleſſed revelation of the *goſpel*, run riot upon *Chriſtianity*, as ſome men, nay, and ſome few women too, have lately done? Muſt the *devil* grow rampant at this rate, and not be call'd *coram nobis*? Why ſhould not he content himſelf to carry off people in the common way, the way of curſing and ſwearing, ſabbath-breaking and cheating, bribery and hypocriſy, drunkenneſs and whoring, and ſuch kind of things as he uſed to do? never let him domineer in men's mouths and writings, as he does now, with loud, tremendous infidelity, blaſphemy and prophaneneſs, enough to frighten the king's ſubjects out of their wits. We are now come to a ſhort queſtion: *God*, or the *Devil*? that's the word; and time will ſhew who and who goes together. Thus much may be ſaid at preſent, that thoſe have abundantly ſhewn their ſpirit of oppoſition to ſacred things, who have not only inveighed againſt the *national* profeſſion and exerciſe of religion; and endeavoured, with bitterneſs and dexterity, to render it *odious* and *contemptible*; but are ſolicitous to hinder *multitudes* of the natives of this iſland from having the very *ſeeds* of *religion* ſown among them with advantage.

Arguments are urged, with the utmoſt vehemence, againſt the education of poor children in the *charity-ſchools*, tho' there hath not one juſt reaſon been offered againſt the proviſion made for that education. The things that have been objected againſt it are *not* in fact true; and nothing ought to be regarded, by ſerious and wiſe men, as a *weighty* or *juſt* argument, if it is not a *true* one. How hath Catiline the confidence left to look any man in the face, after he hath ſpent more confidence than moſt men's whole ſtock amounts to, in ſaying, that *this pretended charity has, in effect, deſtroyed all other charities, which*

which were before given to the aged, sick and impotent?

It seems pretty clear, that if those, who do *not* contribute to any *charity school*, are become more uncharitable to any other object than formerly they were; their want of charity to the one, is not owing to their contribution to the other. And as to those who *do* contribute to these schools; they are so far from being more sparing in their relief of other objects, than they were before, that the poor widows, the aged and the impotent do plainly receive more relief from *them*, in proportion to their numbers and abilities, than from any the same numbers of men under the same circumstances of fortune, who do *not* concern themselves with *charity-schools*, in any respect, but in condemning and decrying them. I will meet Catiline at the Grecian coffee-house any day in the week, and by an enumeration of particular persons, in as great a *number* as he pleaseth, demonstrate the truth of what I say. But I do not much depend upon his giving me the meeting, because 'tis *his* business, not to encourage *demonstrations* of the truth, but to throw *disguises* upon it; otherwise, he never could have allowed himself, after representing the charity-schools as intended *to breed up children to reading and writing, and a sober behaviour, that they may be qualified to be servants*, immediately to add these words, *A sort of idle and rioting vermine, by which the kingdom is already almost devoured, and are become every where a public nuisance*, &c. What? is it owing to the *charity-schools*, that servants are become so *idle*, such *rioting vermine*, such a public *nuisance*; that *women*-servants turn *whores*, and the *men*-servants, *robbers*, *house-breakers* and *sharpers*? (as he says they commonly do.) Is this owing to the *charity-schools*? or, if it is *not*, how comes he to allow himself the liberty of representing these schools as a *means* of *increasing* this load of mischief, which is

indeed too plainly fallen upon the public? The *imbibing principles of virtue* hath not, usually, been thought the chief occasion of running into vice. If the early knowledge of *truth*, and of our *obligations* to it, were the surest means of *departing* from it, no body would doubt, that the knowledge of truth was instill'd into Catiline very *early*, and with the utmost care. 'Tis a good pretty thing in him to spread a report, and to lay so much stress upon it as he does, that *there is more collected at the church doors in a day, to make these poor boys and girls appear in caps and livery coats, than for all the poor in a year.* O rare Catiline! this point you'll carry most swimmingly; for you have no witnesses against you, nor any living soul to contradict you, except the collectors and overseers of the poor, and all other principal inhabitants of most of the parishes, where any charity-schools are, in England.

The jest of it is, my lord, that these *scriblers* would still be thought *good moral men.* But, when men make it their business to *mislead* and *deceive* their neighbours, and that in matters of *moment*, by *distorting* and *disguising* the truth, by *misrepresentations*, and *false* insinuations; if such men are not guilty of *usurpation*, whilst they take upon them the character of *good moral men*, then 'tis not immoral in any man to be *false* and *deceitful*, in cases where the *law* cannot touch him for being so, and *morality* bears no relation to *truth* or *fair-dealing.* However, I shall not be very willing to meet one of these *moral men* upon Hounslow-heath, if I should happen to ride that way without pistols. For I have a notion, that they who have *no* conscience in one point, don't much abound with it in another. Your lordship, who judges accurately of *men*, as well as *books*, will easily imagine, if you had no other knowledge of the charity-schools, that there must be something very *excellent* in them, because such,

ſuch *kind of men* as theſe are ſo warm in *oppoſing* them.

They tell you, that theſe ſchools are hindrances to *huſbandry* and to *manufacture*: as to huſbandry, the children are not kept in the ſchools longer than till they are of age and ſtrength to perform the principal parts of it, or to bear conſtant labour in it; and even whilſt they *are* under this courſe of education, your lordſhip may depend upon it, that they ſhall never be hindered from working in the fields, or being employed in ſuch labour as they are capable of, in any parts of the year, when they can get ſuch employment for the ſupport of their parents and themſelves. In this caſe the parents in the ſeveral countries are proper judges of their ſeveral ſituations and circumſtances, and at the ſame time, not ſo very fond of their children's getting a little *knowledge*, rather than a little *money*, but that they will find *other* employment for them than going to ſchool, whenever they can get a penny by ſo doing. And the caſe is the ſame as to the *manufactures*; the truſtees of the charity-ſchools, and the parents of the children bred in them, would be thankful to thoſe gentlemen who *make* the objection, if they would aſſiſt in *removing* it, by ſubſcribing to a fund for joyning the employment of *manufacture* to the buſineſs of learning to *read* and *write* in the charity-ſchools: *this* would be a *noble* work: 'tis already effected by the ſupporters of ſome charity-ſchools, and is aimed at, and earneſtly deſired by all the reſt: but Rome was not built in a day. Till this *great* thing can be brought about, let the maſters and managers of the manufactures in the ſeveral places of the kingdom be ſo charitable as to employ the poor children for a certain number of hours in every day in their reſpective manufactures, whilſt the truſtees are taking care to fill up their other hours of the day in the uſual duties of the charity-ſchools. 'Tis an eaſy matter for *party-men*, for deſigning and perverted minds, to invent colourable, falacious argu-

ments, and to offer *railing* under the appearance of *reasoning* against the best things in the world. But undoubtedly, no *impartial* man, who is affected with a *serious* sense of *goodness*, and a *real* love of his country, can think this proper and just view of the charity-schools liable to any *just*, *weighty* objection, or refuse to contribute his endeavours to improve and raise them to that *perfection* which is proposed in them. In the mean time, let no man be so *weak* or so *wicked* as to deny, that when poor children cannot meet with employment in any other honest way, rather than suffer their tender age to be spent in idleness, or in learning the arts of lying and swearing and stealing, 'tis true *charity* to *them*, and good service done to our country, to employ them in learning the principles of *religion* and *virtue*, till their age and strength will enable them to become servants in families, or to be engaged in husbandry, or manufacture, or any kind of mechanic trade or laborious employment; for to these laborious employments are the charity children generally, if not always turned, as soon as they become capable of them: and therefore Catiline may be pleased to retract his objection concerning *shop-keepers* or retailers of commodities, wherein he has affirmed, that *their employments*, which he says *ought to fall to the share of children of their own degree, are mostly anticipated and engrossed by the managers of the charity-schools*. He must excuse my acquainting your lordship, that this *affirmation* is in fact directly *false*, which is an inconvenience very apt to fall upon *his* affirmations, as it has particularly done upon one of 'em more, which I would mention: for he is not ashamed roundly to assert, *that the principles of our common people are debauched in our charity-schools, who are taught assoon as they can speak to blabber out* HIGH-CHURCH *and* ORMOND, *and so are bred up to be traitors before they know what treason signifies*. Your *lordship*, and other

persons

persons of *integrity*, whose words are the faithful representatives of their meaning, would now think if I had not given you a key to Catiline's talk, that he has been fully convinced thet the children in the charity-schools *are bred up to be traitors*.

My lord, if any one master be suffered by the trustees to continue in any charity-school, against whom proof can be brought, that he is disaffected to the government, or that he does not as faithfully teach the children *obedience* and *loyalty* to the king, as any other duty in the catechism, then I will gratify Catiline with a license to pull down the *schools*, and hang up the masters, according to his heart's desire.

These, and such things as these, are urged with the like *bitterness*, and as *little truth*, in the book mentioned above, *viz.* THE FABLE OF THE BEES; OR, PRIVATE VICES PUBLIC BENEFITS, *&c.* Catiline explodes the fundamental articles of *faith*, impiously comparing the doctrine of the blessed Trinity to *fee-fa-fum*: this profligate author of the *fable* is not only an auxiliary to Catiline in opposition to *faith*, but has taken upon him to tear up the very foundations of *moral virtue*, and establish *vice* in its room. The best physician in the world did never labour more to purge the *natural* body of *bad* qualities, than this bumble-bee has done to purge the body *politic* of *good* ones. He himself bears testimony to the truth of this charge against him: for when he comes to the conclusion of his book, he makes this observation upon himself and his performance: "After this I flatter myself to have demonstrated, that neither the friendly qualities and "kind affections that are *natural* to man, nor the "real *virtues* he is capable of acquiring by *reason* "and self-denial, are the *foundation of society*; but "that what we call *evil* in this world, *moral* as "well as *natural*, is the *grand principle* that makes "us sociable creatures, the *solid basis*, the *life* and

" *support* of all trades and employments without
" exception: that there we must look for the true
" origin of all arts and sciences, and that *the mo-*
" *ment evil ceases, the society must be spoiled, if*
" *not totally dissolved.*"

Now, my lord, you see the *grand design*, the main drift of Catiline and his confederates; now the scene opens, and the secret springs appear; now the fraternity adventure to speak out, and surely no band of men ever *dared* to speak at this rate before; now you see the *true cause* of all their enmity to the poor charity-schools; 'tis levelled against *religion*; *religion*, my lord, which the schools are instituted to promote, and which *this confederacy* is resolved to destroy; for the schools are certainly one of the greatest instruments of *religion* and *virtue*, one of the firmest bulwarks against *Popery*, one of the best recommendations of this people to the Divine favour; and therefore one of the greatest blessings to our country of any thing that has been set on foot since our happy *reformation* and deliverance from the idolatry and tyranny of Rome. If any trivial inconvenience *did* arise from so excellent a work, as some little inconvenience attends all human institutions and affairs, the excellency of the work would still be matter of *joy*, and find *encouragement* with all the *wise* and the *good*, who despise such *insignificant* objections against it, as *other* men are not ashamed to raise and defend.

Now your lordship also sees the *true cause* of the *satyr* which is continually form'd against the *clergy* by *Catiline* and his confederates. Why should Mr *Hall*'s conviction and execution be any more an objection against the clergy, than Mr *Layer*'s against the gentlemen of the *long robe?* why, because the profession of the *law* does not immediately relate to *religion:* and therefore *Catiline* will allow, that if any person of *that* profession should be traitors, or otherwise *vicious*, all the rest may, notwithstanding the iniquity

iniquity of a brother, be as loyal and virtuous as any other subjects in the king's dominions: but because matters of *religion are* the profess'd *concern* and the *employment* of the *clergy*; therefore *Catiline*'s logic makes it out as clear as the day, that if any of *them* be disaffected to the government, all the rest are so too; or if any of *them* be chargeable with *vice*, this consequence from it is plain, that all or most of the rest are as vicious as the devil can make them. I shall not trouble your lordship with a particular vindication of the clergy, nor is there any reason that I should, for they are already secure of your *Lordship*'s good affection to them, and they are able to vindicate themselves whereseever such a vindication is wanted, being as *faithful* and *virtuous* and *learned* a body of men as any in *Europe*; and yet they suspend the *publication* of arguments in a solemn defence of themselves, because they neither *expect* nor *desire* approbation and esteem from *impious* and *abandon'd* men; and at the same time they cannot doubt that all persons, not only of great *penetration* but of *common sense*, do now clearly see; that the arrows shot against the *clergy* are intended to wound and destroy the *divine institution* of the ministerial offices, and to extirpate the *religion* which the sacred offices were appointed to preserve and promote. This was always *supposed* and *suspected* by every honest and impartial man; but 'tis now *demonstrated* by those who before had given occasion to such suspicions, for they have now openly declared, that *faith* in the principal articles of it is not only needless but ridiculous, that the *welfare* of human society must sink and perish under the encouragement of *virtue*, and that immorality is the only *firm* foundation whereon the happiness of mankind can be built and subsist. The *publication* of such tenets as these, an open avow'd proposal to extirpate the *Christian faith* and all *virtue*, and to fix *moral evil* for the *basis* of the government, is so stunning

ſtunning, ſo ſhocking, ſo frightful, ſo flagrant an enormity, that if it ſhould be imputed to us as a *national* guilt, the *divine vengeance* muſt inevitably fall upon us. And how far this enormity would become a *national guilt* if it ſhould paſs diſregarded and unpuniſhed, a *caſuiſt* leſs ſkilful and diſcerning than your lordſhip may eaſily gueſs: and no doubt your lordſhip's good judgment in ſo plain and important a caſe has made you, like a wiſe and faithful patriot, reſolve to uſe your utmoſt endeavours in your high ſtation to defend religion from the bold attacks made upon it.

As ſoon as I have ſeen a copy of the *bill for the better ſecurity of his majeſty and his happy government, by the better ſecurity of* religion *in* Great-Britain, your lordſhip's *juſt ſcheme of politics*, your *love of your country*, and your *great ſervices* done to it, ſhall again be acknowledg'd by,

My Lord,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

THEOPHILUS PHILO-BRITANNUS.

Theſe violent accuſations and the great clamour every where raiſed againſt the book, by governors, maſters, and other champions of charity-ſchools, together with the advice of friends, and the reflection on what I owed to myſelf, drew from me the following anſwer. The candid reader, in the peruſal of it, will not be offended at the repetition of ſome paſſages, one of which he may have met with twice already, when he ſhall conſider that to make my defence by itſelf to the public, I was obliged to repeat what has been quoted in the letter, ſince the paper would unavoidably fall into the hands of many who had never ſeen either the FABLE OF THE BEES, or the Defamatory Letter wrote againſt it. The anſwer was publiſhed in the *London Journal* of *Auguſt* 10, 1723, in theſe words:

WHEREAS

WHEREAS in the *Evening-Post* of *Thursday July* 11, a presentment was inserted of the grand-jury of *Middlesex*, against the publisher of a book entituled, THE FABLE OF THE BEES; or PRIVATE VICES PUBLICK BENEFITS; and since that, a passionate and abusive letter has been published against the same book and the author of it, in the *London Journal* of *Saturday, July* 27; I think myself indispensibly obliged to vindicate the abovesaid book against the black aspersions that undeservedly have been cast upon it, being conscious that I have not had the least ill design in composing it. The accusations against it having been made openly in the public papers, it is not equitable the defence of it should appear in a more private manner. What I have to say in my behalf, I shall address to all men of sense and sincerity, asking no other favour of them than their patience and attention. Setting aside what in that letter relates to others, and every thing that is foreign and immaterial, I shall begin with the passage that is quoted from the book, *viz. After this, I flatter myself to have demonstrated, that neither the friendly qualities and kind affections that are natural to man, nor the real virtues he is capable of acquiring by reason and self-denial, are the foundation of society; but that what we call evil in this world, moral as well as natural, is the grand principle that make us sociable creatures; the solid basis, the life and support of all trades and employments without exception: that there we must look for the true origin of all arts and sciences; and that the moment evil ceases, the society must be spoiled, if not totally dissolved.* These words I own are in the book, and, being both innocent and true, like to remain there in all future impressions. But I will likewise own very freely, that, if I had wrote with a design to be understood by the meanest capacities, I would not have chose the subject there treated of; or if I had, I would have amplify'd

and

and explained every period, talked and distinguished magisterially, and never appeared without the fescue in my hand. As for example; to make the passage pointed at intelligible, I would have bestowed a page or two on the meaning of the word *Evil*; after that I would have taught them, that every defect, every want was an evil; that on the multiplicity of those wants depended all those mutual services which the individual members of a society pay to each other; and that consequently, the greater variety there was of wants, the larger number of individuals might find their private interest in labouring for the good of others; and united together, compose one body. Is there a trade or handicraft but what supplies us with something we wanted? This want certainly, before it was supplied, was an evil, which that trade or handicraft was to remedy, and without which it could never have been thought of. Is there an art or science that was not invented to mend some defect? Had this latter not existed, there could have been no occasion for the former to remove it. I say, p. 337, *The excellency of human thought and contrivance has been, and is yet no where more conspicuous than in the variety of tools and instruments of workmen and artificers, and the multiplicity of engines, that were all invented, either to assist the weakness of man, to correct his many imperfections, to gratify his laziness, or obviate his impatience.* Several foregoing pages run in the same strain: but what relation has all this to religion or infidelity, more than it has to navigation, or the peace in the north?

The many hands that are employed to supply our natural wants, that are really such, as hunger, thirst, and nakedness, are inconsiderable to the vast numbers that are all innocently gratifying the depravity of our corrupt nature; I mean the industrious, who get a livelihood by their honest labour, to which the vain and voluptuous must be beholden for all their tools and implements of ease and luxury. *The*

short

short-sighted vulgar, in the chain of causes, seldom can see farther than one link; but those who can enlarge their view, and will give themselves leisure of gazing on the prospect of concatenated events, may in a hundred places see Good *spring up and pullulate from* Evil, *as naturally as chickens do from eggs.*

The words are to be found *p.* 63, in the remark made on the seeming paradox; that in the grumbling hive

The worst of all the multitude
Did something for the common good:

Where in many instances may be amply discovered, how unsearchable providence daily orders the comforts of the laborious, and even the deliverances of the oppressed, secretly to come forth not only from the vices of the luxurious, but likewise the crimes of the flagitious and most abandoned.

Men of candour and capacity perceive at first sight, that in the passage censured, there is no meaning hid or expressed that is not altogether contained in the following words: *Man is a necessitous creature on innumerable accounts, and yet from those very necessities, and nothing else, arise all trades and employments.* But it is ridiculous for men to meddle with books above their sphere.

The Fable of the Bees was designed for the entertainment of people of knowledge and education, when they have an idle hour which they know not how to spend better: It is a book of severe and exalted morality, that contains a strict test of virtue, an infallible touchstone to distinguish the real from the counterfeited, and shews many actions to be faulty that are paumed upon the world for good ones: it describes the nature and symptoms of human passions, detects their force and disguises; and traces self-love in its darkest recesses; I might safely add, beyond any other system of Ethics: the whole is a rhapsody void of order or method,

method, but no part of it has any thing in it that is foure or pedantick; the ſtyle I confeſs is very unequal, ſometimes very high and rhetorical, and ſometimes very low, and even very trivial: ſuch as it is, I am ſatisfied that it has diverted perſons of great probity and virtue, and unqueſtionable good ſenſe; and I am in no fear that it will ever ceaſe to do ſo whilſt it is read by ſuch. Whoever has ſeen the violent charge againſt this book, will pardon me for ſaying more in commendation of it, than a man not labouring under the ſame neceſſity would do of his own work on any other occaſion.

The encomiums upon ſtews complained of in the preſentment are no where in the book. What might give a handle to this charge, muſt be a political diſſertation concerning the beſt method to guard and preſerve women of honour and virtue from the inſults of diſſolute men, whoſe paſſions are often ungovernable: as in this there is a dilemma between two evils, which it is impracticable to ſhun both, ſo I have treated it with the utmoſt caution, and begin thus: *I am far from encouraging vice, and ſhould think it an unſpeakable felicity for a ſtate, if the ſin of uncleanneſs could be utterly baniſhed from it; but I am afraid it is impoſſible.* I give my reaſons why I think it ſo; and ſpeaking occaſionally of the muſic-houſes at *Amſterdam*, I give a ſhort account of them, than which nothing can be more harmleſs; and I appeal to all impartial judges, whether what I have ſaid of them is not ten times more proper to give men (even the voluptuous of any taſte) a diſguſt and averſion againſt them, than it is to raiſe any criminal deſire. I am ſorry the grand-jury ſhould conceive that I publiſhed this with a deſign to debauch the nation, without conſidering that, in the firſt place, there is not a ſentence nor a ſyllable that can either offend the chaſteſt ear, or ſully the imagination of the moſt vicious; or in the ſecond, that the matter complained of is manifeſtly addreſſed

addreſſed to magiſtrates and politicians, or at leaſt the more ſerious and thinking part of mankind; whereas a general corruption of manners as to lewdneſs, to be produced by reading, can only be apprehended from obſcenities eaſily purchaſed, and every way adapted to the taſtes and capacities of the heedleſs multitude and unexperienced youth of both ſexes: but that the performance, ſo outragiouſly exclaimed againſt, was never calculated for either of theſe claſſes of people, is ſelf-evident from every circumſtance. The beginning of the proſe is altogether philoſophical, and hardly intelligible to any that have not been uſed to matters of ſpeculation; and the running title of it is ſo far from being ſpecious or inviting, that without having read the book itſelf, no body knows what to make of it, whilſt at the ſame time the price is five ſhillings. From all which it is plain, that if the book contains any dangerous tenets, I have not been very ſolicitous to ſcatter them among the people. I have not ſaid a word to pleaſe or engage them, and the greateſt compliment I have made them has been, *Apage vulgus. But as nothing* (I ſay, p. 199) *would more clearly demonſtrate the falſity of my notions than that the generality of the people ſhould fall in with them; ſo I don't expect the approbation of the multitude. I write not to many, nor ſeek for any well-wiſhers, but among the few that can think abſtractly, and have their minds elevated above the vulgar.* Of this I have made no ill uſe, and ever preſerved ſuch a tender regard to the public, that when I have advanced any uncommon ſentiments, I have uſed all the precautions imaginable, that they might not be hurtful to weak minds that might caſually dip into the book. When (*pag.* 197.) I owned, *That it was my ſentiment that no ſociety could be raiſed into a rich and mighty kingdom, or ſo raiſed ſubſiſt in their wealth and power for any conſiderable time, without the vices of man*, I had premiſed, what

what was true, *That I had never said or imagined, that man could not be virtuous as well in a rich and mighty kingdom, as in the most pitiful commonwealth:* Which caution a man less scrupulous than myself might have thought superfluous, when he had already explained himself on that head in the very same paragraph, which begins thus: *I lay down as a first principle, that in all societies, great or small, it is the duty of every member of it to be good; that virtue ought to be encouraged, vice discountenanced, the laws obeyed, and the transgressors punished.* There is not a line in the book that contradicts this doctrine, and I defy my enemies to disprove what I have advanced, *p.* 199, that *if I have shewn the way to worldly greatness, I have always, without hesitation, preferr'd the road that leads to virtue.* No man ever took more pains not to be misconstrued than myself: mind p. 199. *When I say that societies cannot be raised to wealth and power, and the top of earthly glory, without vices; I don't think that by so saying I bid men be vicious, any more than I bid them be quarrelsome or covetous, when I affirm, that the profession of the law could not be maintained in such numbers and splendour, if there was not abundance of too selfish and litigious people.* A caution of the same nature I had already given towards the end of the preface, on account of a palpable evil inseparable from the felicity of *London.* To search into the real causes of things imports no ill design, nor has any tendency to do harm. A man may write on poisons, and be an excellent physician. Page 335, I say, *No man needs to guard himself against blessings, but calamities require hands to avert them.* And p. 336, *It is the extremities of heat and cold, the inconstancy and badness of seasons, the violence and uncertainty of winds, the vast power and treachery of water, the rage and untractableness of fire, and the*

stubbornness

stubbornness and sterility of the earth, that rack our invention, how we shall either avoid the mischiefs they produce, or correct the malignity of them, and turn their several forces to our own advantage a thousand different ways. Whilst a man is enquiring into the occupations of vast multitudes, I cannot see why he may not say all this and much more, without being accused of depreciating and speaking slightly of the gifts and munificence of heaven; when at the same time he demonstrates, that without rain and sunshine this globe would not be habitable to creatures like ourselves. It is an out-of-the-way subject, and I would never quarrel with the man who should tell me that it might as well have been let alone: yet I always thought it would please men of any tolerable taste, and not be easily lost.

My vanity I could never conquer, so well as I could wish; and I am too proud to commit crimes; and as to the main scope, the intent of the book, I mean the view it was wrote with, I protest that it has been with the utmost sincerity, what I have declared of it in the preface, where at the bottom of the fourth page you will find these words: *If you ask me, why I have done all this,* cui bono? *and what good these notions will produce? truly, besides the reader's diversion, I believe none at all; but if I was ask'd, what naturally ought to be expected from them? I would answer, that in the first place the people who continually find fault with others, by reading them would be taught to look at home, and examining their own consciences, be made ashamed of always railing at what they are more or less guilty of themselves; and that in the next, those who are so fond of the ease and comforts of a great and flourishing nation, would learn more patiently to submit to those inconveniencies, which no government upon earth can remedy, when they should see the impossibility of enjoying any great share of the first, without partaking likewise of the latter.*

The

The first impression of the FABLE OF THE BEES, which came out in 1714, was never carpt at, or publickly taken notice of; and all the reason I can think on, why the second edition should be so unmercifully treated, tho' it has so many precautions which the former wanted, is an essay on charity and charity-schools, which is added to what was printed before. I confess that it is my sentiment, that all hard and dirty work ought in a well-govern'd nation to be the lot and portion of the poor, and that to divert their children from useful labour till they are fourteen or fifteen years old, is a wrong method to qualify them for it when they are grown up. I have given several reasons for my opinion in that essay, to which I refer all impartial men of understanding, assuring them that they will not meet with such monstrous impiety in it as is reported. What an advocate I have been for libertinism and immorality, and what an enemy to *all instructions of youth in the Christian faith*, may be collected from the pains I have taken on education for above seven pages together: and afterwards again, *page* 276, where speaking of the instructions the children of the poor might receive at church; *from which*, I say, *or some other place of worship, I would not have the meanest of a parish that is able to walk to it, be absent on Sundays*, I have these words, *It is the sabbath, the most useful day in seven, that is set apart for divine service and religious exercise, as well as resting from bodily labour; and it is a duty incumbent on all magistrates to take a particular care of that day. The poor more especially, and their children, should be made to go to church on it, both in the fore and afternoon, because they have no time on any other. By precept and example they ought to be encouraged to it from their very infancy: the wilful neglect of it ought to be counted scandalous; and if downright compulsion to what I urge might seem too harsh and perhaps impracticable,*

ble, all diverſions at leaſt ought ſtrictly to be prohibited, and the poor hindred from every amuſement abroad, that might allure or draw them from it. If the arguments I have made uſe of are not convincing, I deſire they may be refuted, and I will acknowledge it as a favour in any one that ſhall convince me of my error, without ill language, by ſhewing me wherein I have been miſtaken: but calumny, it ſeems, is the ſhorteſt way of confuting an adverſary, when men are touched in a ſenſible part. Vaſt ſums are gathered for theſe charity ſchools, and I underſtand human nature too well to imagine, that the ſharers of the money ſhould hear them ſpoke againſt with any patience. I foreſaw therefore the uſage I was to receive; and having repeated the common cant that is made for charity-ſchools, I told my readers, *page* 236, *This is the general cry, and he that ſpeaks the leaſt word againſt it, is an uncharitable, hard-hearted and inhuman, if not a wicked, prophane and atheiſtical wretch.* For this reaſon it cannot be thought, that it was a great ſurprize to me, when in that extraordinary letter to lord *C.* I ſaw myſelf call'd *profligate author, the publication of my tenets an open and avowed propoſal to extirpate the Chriſtian faith and all virtue,* and what I had done *ſo ſtunning, ſo ſhocking, ſo frightful, ſo flagrant an enormity,* that it cry'd for the vengeance of heaven. This is no more than what I have always expected from the enemies to truth and fair dealing, and I ſhall retort nothing on the angry author of that letter, who endeavours to expoſe me to the public fury. I pity him, and have charity enough to believe that he has been impoſed upon himſelf, by truſting to fame and the hearſay of others; for no man in his wits can imagine that he ſhould have read one quarter part of my book, and write as he does.

I am ſorry if the words *private vices public benefits,* have ever given any offence to a well-meaning

man. The myſtery of them is ſoon unfolded when once they are rightly underſtood; but no man of ſincerity will queſtion the innocence of them, that has read the laſt paragraph, where I take my leave of the reader, *and conclude with repeating the ſeeming paradox, the ſubſtance of which is advanced in the title page*; *that* private vices, *by the dextrous management of a ſkilful politician, may be turned into* public benefits. Theſe are the laſt words of the book, printed in the ſame large character with the reſt. But I ſet aſide all what I have ſaid in my vindication; and if in the whole book call'd THE FABLE OF THE BEES, and preſented by the grand-jury of *Middleſex* to the judges of the *king's bench*, there is to be found the leaſt title of blaſphemy or prophaneneſs, or any thing tending to immorality or the corruption of manners, I deſire it may be publiſh'd; and if this be done without invective, perſonal reflections, or ſetting the mob upon me, things I never deſign to anſwer, I will not only recant, but likewiſe beg pardon of the offended public in the moſt ſolemn manner; and (if the hangman might be thought too good for the office) burn the book myſelf at any reaſonable time and place my adverſaries ſhall be pleaſed to appoint.

The Author of THE FABLE OF THE BEES.

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